

OUT OF
KISHINEFF
BY W. C. STILES



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Out of Kishineff

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The Duty of the American
People to the Russian Jew

By

W. C. STILES, B.D.



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Out of Kishineff



TO MY SON
KENT BROOKLYN STILES
PUPIL IN ERASMUS HALL

IN THE HOPE THAT HE
MAY EVER BE A
CHAMPION OF THE
WEAK AND OPPRESSED
AND A LOYAL
SUPPORTER OF FREE
AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS

THIS BOOK IS
AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED BY THE
AUTHOR

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ANTEGRAPH

Before the massacre at Kishineff passes out of the public mind, to be recalled only as an incident of history, I have deemed it greatly desirable to rehearse the facts that have been revealed, and to add such comment upon the whole situation as has seemed to me to be required. If no further troubles occur to arouse the attention, it does not seem probable that the outbreak at Kishineff will assume the dignity of an international episode. But the widespread interest, not to say excitement, with which the news of the massacre has been received in America indicates an opportunity to draw the lessons of the case. The increasing importance of the Jew in America, as a factor of our social and political life, has seemed to me to furnish a timely occasion for some consideration of his relations as a citizen and as a social factor. The occurrence of the massacre in Russia has led to some discussion of Russian responsibility; the presence in America of so large a number of Russian Jews, with the likelihood that many more will soon emigrate to this country, has suggested a general review of the international

question to which such a fact leads; and a chapter has been devoted to a résumé of the qualities that would seem to make the immigrant Jew a desirable addition to the American populations. There has been included, as proper background to the more general discussion, some account of the historic sufferings of the Jews, and the present duty of Christendom, as the author regards it, has been freely pointed out.

While the author has a hope that the treatment he has made of this subject will meet the approval of American Jews, as they study the welfare of their race, it has been undertaken more specifically as a form of appeal to the humane and liberty-loving Americans who believe in the application of the Golden Rule, and who may be moved to add the emphasis of the disapproval of a great and free people against race persecution in all its degrees and forms. If I have sometimes given expression to my condemnation fervidly, those who have the capacity to feel strongly when they see weakness oppressed, or intolerance and cruelty triumphant, will not, in view of the facts, be likely to find the fervor excessive.

I take pleasure in acknowledging the valuable assistance of Dr. Isidore Singer, Editor of the "Jewish Encyclopedia," for suggestions and documents,

of the Funk and Wagnalls Company for the free use of the office library in Clinton Hall, of Mr. F. H. Vizetelly for many valuable hints in the matter of research, of Mr. Herman Rosenthal, of the Slavonic department of the Astor Library, for information about Russian matters, and of Mr. Joseph Jacobs, M.A., for statistical and other information. I have also availed myself of much current discussion, and the great mass of material developed by the event that has suggested the book. It is now sent forth in the sincere hope that it will justify itself as a needed discussion of a topic of living and permanent interest.

W. C. S.

NEW YORK, *June*, 1903.

Across the Eastern sky has glowed
The flicker of a blood-red dawn.
Once more the clarion cock has crowed,
Once more the sword of Christ is drawn.
A million burning rooftrees light
The world-wide path of Israel's flight.

Where is the Hebrew's fatherland?
The folk of Christ is sore bested;
The Son of Man is bruised and banned,
Nor finds whereon to lay his head.
His cup is gall, his meat is tears,
His passion lasts a thousand years.

Each crime that wakes in man the beast,
Is visited upon his kind.
The lust of mobs, the greed of priest,
The tyranny of kings combined,
To root his seed from earth again,
His record is one cry of pain.

When the long roll of Christian guilt
Against his sires and kin is known,
The flood of tears, the life-blood spilt,
The agony of ages shown,
What oceans can the stain remove,
From Christian law and Christian love?

EMMA LAZARUS.

OUT OF KISHINEFF

Chapter I

The Blood of the Jew

LET Christendom inspect the ghastly stains that crimson the tessellated floorways of the throne. Russia, this time, ghoul of ensanguined history, drenching her hands in the blood that cries from the ground and from the bespattered arches of the heavens! Russia, this time, companion of Austria, with her long black record of cruelty to the Jew! Companion of France, whose next revolution forebodes a crowning disaster to the compatriots of Dreyfus! Companion of Roumania, in that vast dark tragedy of assassination, in which, through the centuries since the days of Christ three hundred and sixty-eight thousand Jews * have been persecuted to death!

* Authority of Joseph Jacob, M.A., Jewish Encyclopedia Staff.

Russia is the land of despotism. Civilization began to speak too soon when, under the present régime, we began to ask if Russia is not, after all, an enlightened despotism. We have found out about that. Enlightened!

Kishineff, horror chamber of modern days, is the measure of the enlightenment (!) of an empire that has so recently boasted of the suave and peaceful mandate that called together the Peace Conference at The Hague, and proclaimed religious toleration; and that now proceeds to teach the world its peace lesson in the horrors of sacked streets, wrecked houses, mutilated bodies, violated women, in a carnage that demonstrates the mockery of the smooth words of the vast Autocrat, and provokes the Christian to inquire what peace for the world is likely to issue from the caverns of the Bear.

How they sing the holy chants of the Risen Christ at Eastertide! This grim-faced priest, these stolid peasants, white-robed novitiates and girls garlanded with flowers!

Christ! Christ!

And He rose from the dead, and breathed peace on His loved ones. Ready to die, He said with His parting word: "I leave you peace"; and "Love one another." A Jew! who would not draw a sword, and who taught the ages the story of a love that would go to death, but that would not so much as inflict a wound upon the ear of the servant of a High Priest of Israel!

Even the speckled eggs of the bird in the olive tree, that had turned crimson when His blood stained His cross, broke into life, while the gentle mother bird sang in her jubilant joy, when Christ rose from the dead. And, oh! It is a Christian city. It is full of holy men in dark robes, who chant the Easter psalm, and hold aloft the crucifix, and hail the Prince of Peace, risen, and ascended to glory. Surely they have learned his lesson of love! They will teach it to the discontented peasant. They will tell him to love the Jew, even as He of old loved them all.

And there in Kishineff, foreign city beyond the sea, they chanted and roted, and sang, and prayed

of the Christ who is risen from the dead. Surely His peace on earth, His good will to men, rests on sleepy Kishineff, while men steal along the streets, and women sit in their doorways and spin. On such a day, with Christ's peace sitting on the festival-clad town, one would think that even a despised son of Abraham may venture to finish his Passover, and glorify the historic scenes that prefigured the holy Last Supper of the Lord.

Christ! Christ!

But who knows what men may do in the name of Christ? Who shall rehearse—unless there be somewhere a recording angel with all the roll of the martyred dead—who shall rehearse all the horrors that this name has borne? Chambers of history, whisper no more your vast dread secrets of the dead who have been hewn and hounded, and hissed and slain, tortured, and tormented, and burned, and hanged, in the name of the Son of Peace!

And still He looks out through history at the vision of Kishineff with His sorrowful eyes, and speaks over and over the last pregnant words that made His

cross a throne of power: "Forgive them, they know not what they do."

It was Eastertide in Kishineff.

.

"The Jews get all the money, and they lend it to us, and ruin us." So speaks a gaunt peasant, with the thick accent of his southern Latin dialect.

"They have been robbers and usurers from the beginning," declares a soldier of the Czar's police overhearing him.

"They rule all the markets of Kishineff," said a surly tradesman, joining in. "No decent Christian can get a living any longer."

On the streets of Kishineff, all days of the year could be heard these envious complaints of Jews. And ninety per cent. of the Jews of Kishineff were working peasants that belong to the common people. And no one was heard to give evidence that the Jews ever stole, or looted, or rioted, or made their money as some Gentile peasants customarily did, by the sale of their daughters to the nobleman. Were they not virtuous? Were they not industrious? Were

they not as honest in trade as the others who had less faculty to become lenders of gold?

In Kishineff there were forty thousand Jews, and eighty thousand who hate a Jew. Nobody knows why the eighty thousand are unanimous only in one human interest—namely, to hate a Jew. Later we may inquire. But in such a population, where the masses of people live more brutally and more ignorantly than anywhere else outside Africa, it needs but a cry in the streets to set a thousand ignorant and brutal men to the task of a massacre. They are a population even more susceptible to the smell of blood than to the organ tones and solemn chants of the cathedral at Eastertide; and the massacre and the Easter are not incongruous in the brutal mind of the mob, provided the victims chance to be aliens from the Greek Church, and especially if they happen to be Jews.

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After nineteen centuries of Christianity, on Easter Sunday, 1903, this vast dark horror, in the streets, and squares, and lanes of a Christian city, about

the hour of noon, began to break on the heads of the Jews. Was it not written somewhere in the Christians' own book that these Jews had once some reckless ancestors, who looked in the face of Jesus in Pilate's court and cried:

“His blood be on us, and on our children”?

Come! Let us fulfil the prophecy. Those Jews of that ancient day, speaking in the rage of their hearts, are long since dead. Fifty generations of their descendants are dead. But must we not keep on killing them? What is a Jew for but to be dead and damned? Holy! Holy! Holy! Oh, is it not a holy thing to hack out the quivering heart of a Jew? There must be a new note in the chant of the cathedral, and gloating in the high official heart of Bessarabia, when the Jew has once more been killed. They will take less delight in spearing the rattlesnakes in their rock holes in the hills.

Perhaps some lawless boys, bred in the fine art of tormenting the old long-beard who keeps a market in the corner of the plaza, started the delightful sport, dear to the heart of the populace. Surely

this was not the first time Kishineff has had trouble about Jews. They have often been so unreasonable as to complain of the assaults, and insults, and outrages of the rough and slum populations of the town. Does one of them incautiously creep home late in the evening where gangs assemble and villainous boys congregate? He is chased home with stones, and mud, and epithets that make his Abrahamic cheeks burn all night with anger and shame. And he knows that if he had dared retaliate, he, and not the assailants, would be swift victim of the Czar's beautiful peace laws in Kishineff. Being a Jew, he must not turn as other men may turn, as even a harried dog may turn, and bite back at his tormentors. A dog is far more reputable in Kishineff than a Jew. More reputable unless some one wishes to borrow! A lending Jew, in the moment when he can lend the Governor roubles to pay his debts, and make no complaint when he is defrauded, can even command a semblance of protection in Kishineff.

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“Blessed saints! The Jews! Let us now have some fun with the Jews.”

Boys and men, swarming out of the cathedral where they have heard the glory chants that told how the Prince of Peace has risen from the dead, they must now have some fun with the Jews. And such excellent fun!

How soft-voiced and effeminate we are in this cultured land! True, there has been blood on our hands, and we show the world, now and then, that we can be strenuous, and even heroic. But do we like to inspect the tragedy that fills with the stench of a vast horror the airs of Bessarabia? If I might but tip the pen with fire, to write it as ghastly as it is! It is not so bad, my delicate friend—though you hold fast to your aristocratic nostrils as you read—it is not so bad to feel a tingle of the hot blood of indignation and shame in the face of a scene that quivers with the echoes of a great world wrong, which once more warns us that it is time we made an end to it. Do not shrink when I show you the Blood of the Jew! It is the blood that you and I must be swift to avenge, or we shall share in the guilt of it. The American is not too delicate to

look into the streets of Kishineff, even though he must at the same time glance behind him at some rough outbreaks at home.*

Fugitives arriving in Vienna about the 20th of May estimated the slain at two hundred and thirty-four. Under every kind of outrage they died, mostly at the door of their homes. Less men than that were killed in battle in our war with Spain. And these were not all soldiers, slain in the glory of battle. They were babes, butchered at the breasts of their

* "I received such a communication the other day, calling my attention to the fact that during the industrial eruptions last autumn, resulting in violence and loss of life, there was no such general protest voiced against the outrages committed. The sender considered it an incongruity to protest so strongly against what has occurred in another country.

"There are many things that happen in the United States which should be cried out against, but because we have been silent on some occasions is no reason why we should hold our tongues now. Two wrongs never make a right.

"About what has happened in Kishineff there is not the slightest doubt that whatever may have been the reason for the outbreaks the maintenance of law and the establishment of the rights of the weaker are not the concern of one man alone, but of all men."—Bishop Potter, in an address to the N. Y. East Side Merchants' Committee, June 1, 1903.

mothers. They were old men beaten down in the presence of their sons. They were delicate women violated and murdered in the sight of their own children. But then—they were only Jews!

The Moldavian-Roumanian population of Kishineff have the reputation of being peaceful. But at this Easter festival a curious combination of affairs remains to be explained by the authorities of Bessarabia. It is a fact that the city was full of anti-Semitic strangers, who had come there by some secret arrangement of which the authorities could not have been ignorant. They came from outside, from the northern regions, known in Bessarabia as "Great Russia." And here is a governor of the province who is not a Latin, but a Slav! There was premeditation in his refusal to protect the Jews. He allowed the massacre. It was done by Russians, and not by the Roumanian populations of Kishineff. Politically, and socially, the Blood of the Jew pacifies the Russian peasantry and exalts the authority of the government.

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They surged through the streets, beginning at noon of Easter. When the Jews rushed to the governor, beseeching protection from the fast maddening mobs, his only answer was to forbid them to assemble for defence, and to order them back to their homes. This order was rightly taken by the Russian leaders of the mobs as a permission to pillage and to kill.

Take the place of the sexton of the synagogue, closing the house of prayer after the passover. A synagogue in Kishineff is the symbol of Jewish religion. On Monday the mob sacked the synagogue. The sexton barred the doors. He stood like a faithful soldier at his post. When the mob broke in the doors he offered his body a sacrifice to the defence of the holy place. Before the altar they beat him down with clubs. Dying, he remembered, perhaps, that God is in the synagogue and that God regards the blood of the Jew. They threw his marred body into the street and pillaged the synagogue.

Go and hide with Abraham Polnovick under a heap of barrels before the door, or in the cellar of

a Gentile more merciful than the mob. Three days with his terror-stricken wife and children he cowered and hid under the barrel heap. Then he looked out upon the deserted streets. Dead bodies lay along the gutters. Every one of them was a Jew. Among them were the bodies of children. One of them—God knows how many more—one at least, was seen falling from a window, flung out by sacking rioters within, and caught on the spear of one of the Czar's mounted police.

Polnovick, creeping out from his cellar from under his heap of barrels, holds the light for us while we look up those ghastly streets. This is a part of his story:

“When the soldiers came into the city on Tuesday, April 12th, the bloodshed stopped. It was raging until noon of that day. The soldiers made 1,002 arrests, but twenty times that number participated in the murders and tortures and nameless indignities on the people of my faith.

“When my father and mother, sisters and brothers and their four little children dared come out of our place of concealment in the cellar of the friendly cooper who had sheltered us, the streets of the city

were a shocking sight. Dead bodies were everywhere, many of them horribly mutilated, and in most cases with the clothes all torn off. There were ears, fingers, noses lying on the pavements. Many of the bodies had been covered with leaves or with the feathers which had strewn the streets like snow.

“ Before I secured shelter I saw scenes of torture for an hour or more which I can never forget. Babies were tossed in the air to be caught on the points of spears and swords. Young girls were horribly mistreated before death came to end their torture. I saw these things with my own eyes. No pen or tongue can add anything to the fiendishness of the mobs who swarmed through the streets, crying: ‘ Kill the Jews! Burn their houses! Spare not at all! ’ ”

Jachel Kapulkin, shut up in Kishineff, heard at her door the imploring screams of girls. Have they not seen fair and dark-haired maidens dragged in shame and terror from their houses, on the doors of which still are the tell-tale blood stains from the slaughter of their fathers and mothers, to become the hooting byplay of licentiousness and murder before their eyes? And now they remember a good woman whom they know. Perhaps we shall learn

that she, also, was only a Jew. But the maidens, chased by the mob, ready to defame and despoil them, and then to add their blood to the butchery of the hour, loving honor, and in crazed fear, not more for their lives than for their virtue, shriek at Jachel Kapulkin's door. Nine of them reach it in safety. God alone knows how many have been caught in the merciless whirl of the mob shouting "Kill the Jew!" For two days she defends the maidens of her race from the mob that shrieks about her dwelling, and in the night, when the horror sways to some other part of the town, she escapes with them all and leaves the horror behind her.

And over against this mercy angel snatching virtue from the degradation of dishonor, and human lives from the jaws of death, imagine the character of Titza Pavelescu, the female Jew baiter of Foks-chani, preaching in the streets the anti-Semitic agitation that prepares for more horrors in Roumania. Ever it is so. Either angel of mercy or more the beast than man, women mingle in every bloodshed of history.

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Amid the superstitious atmosphere of peasant life in Russia the occasion of social and political friction is certain to be some incident connected with religion. Behind half the turmoil of the empire is the priest, or the superstition that he perpetuates. For no other cause has blood been so freely shed in human history.

Deep in the heart of the peasant throughout several countries of Europe, and more especially Russia, is fixed the tradition that a Jewish passover cannot be celebrated without the use of human blood. Malicious and ignorant people for more than five hundred years have made this accusation, but there is not a shred of reliable evidence in all that time that a Jew ever shed human blood in a ceremonial passover.

But a Christian child was found dead in a village near Kishineff. As the time of the passover was approaching, the readiest thing was to accuse the Jews. The agitators who came to Kishineff, and who were Russians, raised the cry that the child had been killed for its blood. Of what avail was it that

the eminent physicians of Odessa, where the body was sent, declared that no blood had been taken from the body. There is as much reasoning power in the peasantry of Kishineff, when a Jew's name is mentioned, as might be found in the wooden tobacco signs before the cigar store in the plaza.

This outcry, raised at every passover somewhere in the dark empire of the Czar, may have begun the excitement in Kishineff. No great horror ever had merely a single and solitary cause. It seems to be a matter of record that wealthy Jews paid the governor for protection. It is equally well established that the police and some officials of Kishineff assisted the dreadful work of assassination.

Whatever the cause, the facts return upon us as a tale of savage butchery that the mind sickens in recording. Let us stimulate our nerves and take in the significance of the facts.

Through the streets of the town, bearing in his hands the sacred scroll of the law, an aged patriarch goes fleeing for his life. How sacred to the heart of a Jew is the law-scroll of the synagogue! He

clutches it closer as he sees the mob closing in. Now he is down on his knees. The brutal club of mujiks rain on his old gray head. He quivers down into the dust cloud of the street, upon the stones that mangle him, while his blood stains the pavement. The law scroll is torn to shreds, and the furious mujiks trample on his form.

On Kaladosh Street lived David Kavio. Some time he had charged an overprice for shoddy clothing, or perchance he had refused his daughter to a Gentile. God knows! But he is a Jew. When he rushed into the street the mob drove him back into his store. Then they drove him out again to the street, that they might ravage the store. He will be glad to let them steal the clothing in the store if only he can escape with his life. But Russian peasants, with the blood smell in their nostrils, are no longer as human beings; to-day they are as other beasts, when there is blood in the air, and everywhere the police and the foreign mujiks are urging them to their welcome task of Jew killing. They seize the seller of clothing and hold him, shrieking, while they torture him to death. His Hebrew

tongue they tear out, that he may no more speak of the God whom his fathers have worshipped since the days of Abraham. When their sport is done, it is only because, with his tongueless mouth gaping horribly its dumb accusation of Russia and all her hatreds, he lies at last peaceful in death.

A refugee who reached these shores has told the horrified world his story. To show them how safe it was to go into the street, his aged grandfather left their safe hiding-place and showed himself to the mob. Before his helpless children he was beaten down and nearly killed. They dragged him back, but not before the mob had rendered him helpless. The next day, from their harsh blows, the old man died.

Another merchant, one Galauter, defended his children with a revolver. When the mob had overpowered him they amused themselves by tearing out his eyes and his tongue. Americans will not be likely at once to think that the apology of the Russian ambassador exactly explains why a Jew is not entitled to keep his eyes and his tongue even in Russia.

In the New Bazar a bridegroom was buying flowers for his bride. Jews they were, but the happiness of a new life was in them, and at home there waited for him the one in all the world who might bring the light into his eyes and joy into his heart. He has gone out with the promise on his lips to come back quickly with the flowers, and his bride is waiting for him at the window. But he is a Jew. Caught in the terror of the riot, he is set on as a Jew. They hacked his form in pieces with knives—because he was a Jew. Then they packed his body in a box, and when this bride sees her new made husband again she will see, if madness do not veil her senses, or if she has not shared his fate, she will see— Well, the Russian ambassador says the Jews are usurers. Perhaps the flowers for a Jew's bride in Kishineff were bought with the proceeds of usury. And if they were, how happy the thought that he should pay for it by being hacked into pieces and packed in a box. Pray, is that not the right thing for a Jew?

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And you say it is too ghastly, and you want to lay the book down? Not yet, not yet! The blood is not hot enough yet. The world will shudder some and soon enough forget, though it must read the whole. I am not writing a fancy sketch of things that I have dreamed. Shall we sleep nights, and call ourselves Americans, while such things can be possible in the world? There were wives and mothers and little children in the whirl of this mad assassination of the Jews. One of them was at the point of bearing into the world in a mother's travail pain a new life—though she and it were only Jews. They found her hiding in a cellar. At the morgue, where the body lay after the horror was done, they found spikes driven through her skull, her child still unborn. And yet another expectant mother, as a Christian doctor testified, was held in her chair and beaten to death with clubs. And the Governor, acting on the dispatch of the Minister of the Interior, acted not at all. The police of Kishineff looked on or assisted. The responsible authority of Russia, vested in a Ministry of the Interior, may imagine

that mild admonition, because the Russian populace must be placated, will also placate civilization. There will come a day when civilization will work its own atonement, and when it comes, the blood of mothers and little children in the streets of Kishineff will plague the great dark empire more than all the Jews of history have ever done.

But on that Easter festival, with the song of the risen Prince of Peace sounding above the slaughter of the innocents, it is on record that the walls of the houses of Kishineff were ghastly with the blood and the brains of little children, where they were dashed to death by the police presumably appointed to protect them; that Jews were dragged under the wheels of the tram cars and crushed to shapeless masses of horror; that the breasts of women were cut off; that the crimsoned linen of murdered victims was borne through the streets as banners of blood-lust by the shrieking mobs; that the hospitals where the victims who survived were carried, and the morgue where the dead lay, bore such dreadful sights that the surgeons of the town, whose profes-

sional practice hardens them to every kind of human wound, sickened, and could not look upon the scenes exposed to view. And when the world had told to the Russian ambassador these true, these almost incredible tales of that Holy Easter, the civilized minister of a great power did not say to the world: "Every murder of Kishineff shall be punished." He did not say: "My Government will act promptly, and justice shall be done at any cost." From a civilized nation, with a civilized ambassador, this would have been the prompt ringing message that would have sounded to all the world. The Russian ambassador hears the story, and he apologizes for the assassination. He actually charges that the Jews are usurers. And this excuses a horror that has shocked mankind!!

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Sunday, Monday and Tuesday the disorders continued. Fifteen streets of the Jewish quarter were completely sacked. More than two thousand houses and stores of Jews were wrecked. It was not until Monday, after the mob had discovered to a certainty

that they were not to be interfered with by the authorities, that they began to murder. After that Jews were killed on sight. The police and the Russian officials of Kishineff openly assisted. The rioters raised in the streets the cry that an order had gone out from the palace of the Czar that all Jews were to be killed or driven from the empire. "Murdered people lay in the streets like flies, and the mobs trampled over their bodies."

And they lay there in God's soft moonlight while yet the echoes of the Easter festival that celebrated Christ's resurrection were floating across the airs of the night. And in fear of the Christians who love Christ so much that they celebrate His rising again from the dead in the blood of Jews, refugees streamed out of the cruel city, escaping to Odessa and to the open country, leaving behind them their dead and the scene of horror at which the world is shuddering still.

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These things occurred in Kishineff.

Kishineff is the capital or government seat of

Bessarabia, and Bessarabia is a southwestern province of Russia, bordering on the Black Sea. Its nearest important sea port is Odessa. Brought under Russian control in 1812, it has since become the most important trade centre of the lower Danube region. Intermingled in its population are the Slav, the Moldavian and the Jew. The terraced lands of the city and the rich vineyards of the valley and hillside, that yield the finest wines of southern Europe, the Jew cannot own. He has been corralled in sixteen provinces of the empire, of which Bessarabia is one. Driven from ownership of the soil and forbidden to engage in the wine trade, he huddles in the city and grows more poverty stricken every year. In 1873 the richest Jew in Kishineff possessed about two hundred thousand roubles. When the Russian ambassador at Washington apologizes for the blood on the tessellated floorway of the throne in St. Petersburg, the facts—the universal poverty of the Jews of Russia—refute him. Russian Jews are children of poverty and misery. It is a virtue for the Slav, pursuing the intrigues of

State, to falsify history. The peasant and the tradesman of Kishineff who complain of the usury of the Jew have always at their ear the superstitious teachings of the Greek Church and the agitator of the Russian autocracy. It is with the combined voice of these two enemies of the Jew that the Russian ambassador flaunts his apology in the face of Americans, lest the storm overwhelm the flood tide and the flood tide break on Russia. He counts very well on the commercial hopes of sordid Americans who will never assist in driving the Bear out of Manchuria so long as trade remains favorable to the Yankee.

Kishineff, making her wines and exporting her cattle, may still have trade for the Jew, but the Jew in Kishineff is a creature of poverty, like all his kind in Russia.

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That very day, when the mobs began the outbreak, there were six regiments of the Czar's army in the city and at the call of the Governor. Not a soldier went into the streets to stay the horror. The

Governor of Bessarabia, creature of the Czar's Government, had in his Governor's Residence on that day, to guide him in an emergency that had been sprung by strange activities begun outside the city, this remarkable order:

Ministry of the Interior.
Chancellerie of the Minister,
March 25, 1903.

Perfectly secret.

To the Governor of Bessarabia:

It has come to my knowledge that in the region intrusted to you wide disturbances are being prepared against the Jews, who chiefly exploit the local population.

In view of the general disquietude in the disposition of the town populations which is seeking to vent itself, and also in view of the unquestionable undesirability of instilling by too severe measures anti-Governmental feelings into the population which has not yet been affected by the (revolutionary) propaganda, your Excellency will not fail to contribute to the immediate stopping of disorders which may arise by means of admonitions, without at all having recourse, however, to the use of arms.

V. PLEHVE.*

* Very tardily the Russian Minister of the Interior denied the genuineness of the dispatch. The lateness of the denial

The Russian Minister of the Interior is in the palace of the Czar. He is, for all internal affairs, the most powerful secret counsellor of the man who issued the order for the peace conference and the manifesto of religious toleration. The Governor is actually to go so far in behalf of mere Jews as to issue *Admonitions*. By no means should good Russian powder be wasted, even to fire in the air for effect, when Jews are being murdered! It is no figure of speech to be dismissed with the Czar's discharge of the Governor, for the man who understands the Slavic significance of a dispatch like this, to say, as I have said, that the blood of these Jews

has led the world to believe it authentic, nevertheless, especially as it is in complete correspondence with other official procedure of the Russian Government toward these outbreaks. The dispatch originally appeared in the London *Times*. Commenting, May 28th, upon the tardy denial of the Minister, the *Times* declared that it would probably be accepted in the same way with the formal denial of Manchurian occupancy, tendered to Mr. Hay, and adds:

“It is curious and unfortunate that before and during the butchery of the Jews at Kishineff the Governor conducted himself precisely as if he had received this non-existent letter and were endeavoring to fulfill the orders given him.”

with their dead faces turned up to the moonlight in the streets of Kishineff while still the Easter chants echo in the air, lies in a black and infamous stain on the tessellated floorways of the throne.

Chapter II

The Hunted Jew of History



WALKING through the chamber of horrors where the Jew of all history has died, Kishineff becomes but an incident. The re-echo from Bessarabia sounds more loudly only because the ear of the world is more attent and the nerves of man more sensitive and the soul of man more humane.

Who is this historic figure with the blood stains on him?

The patience of ages is in his face; the story of martyrdoms that mark the chronicles of civilization has the Jew for its centrepiece. For the first time in the history of man we are beginning to inspect this figure honestly and measure him by the standards of a scientific anthropology. We are beginning logically to reassert that which Shakespeare put into Shylock's mouth: that a Jew has eyes, that

he has ears, that he has senses, that if we prick him he will bleed.

Modern apprehension of the unity of man, and of a necessary universal brotherhood of the race, that inspects the negro and the Mongolian, is also coming to understand that the blood of Jews is a part of the world's vitality, contribution to the sum of life, to be estimated as a value in the consensus of progress, and among the powers of human evolution from savage to civilized mankind. We are beginning to assert intelligently that the Jew was not created in order that governments may be pacified by killing him.

It ought to help us, remembering the name we boast, when we call our modern civilization Christian, to remember also that the founder of Christianity was one, Jesus of Nazareth, and that Jesus of Nazareth was first of all a Jew.* The supreme

* This Jesus, who is worshipped by one-half the civilized world as the savior of mankind, as the Prince of Peace, who came on earth to end all strife and discord, to eradicate all wrong from the hearts of men, and to plant in its stead universal peace and eternal good will,—this Jesus who commands such vener-

religious life of mankind, localized in history, begins with the teaching, the life and the death of a Jew. If there is any virtue or value in that element of modern civilization which has been contributed by this historic religion it was contributed by a Jew. Say if you will that his own people rejected, and still reject him, it nevertheless remains that the Hebrew literature and history, from the stock of which Christian history and literature sprang, constitute to this day a history and literature that Christians claim as their own—and they were made by Jews.

The composite picture of centuries, that gives in the combination the features of the Jew, bears the mark somewhere of that apostle who is to the Christian, next to Jesus, the greatest character of Christianity; for he was a Jew. He was the same kind of man the world over, who came on earth with so noble a mission, whose natal day is celebrated even after the lapse of eighteen centuries with so much joyousness, the breathing of whose very name casts a spell of holiness over the human heart, and the story of whose life is an inspiration to the despairing, a light to the erring, a comfort to the sorrowing, a rest to the heavy laden,—this Jesus was—A JEW.—Rabbi Joseph Krauskopf, in Peters' "Justice to the Jew," p. 313.

of a Jew with those who were slain at Easter time in Bessarabia; a colonist, living in a foreign city, a native of Tarsus, and a worshipper in the same sort of synagogue as those that were sacked in Kishineff, and a reader of the same kind of law scroll that was torn in pieces by the mob. Say that his own people call him apostate, it still remains, admitting that we have his utterances accurately preserved and recorded, that he foresaw a time when "all Israel should be grafted in" and saved by the blood of Him whom they had rejected. And it was a Jew who gave Christendom that hope.

This figure with the blood stains on him; let us look at him, and let us ascertain if the time has not come when mankind should begin to lift the long curse of centuries from the wounded heart of the Jew.

If there were any Christian value in the process we might pause to admit that he has not always been a pleasant figure.* Perchance the great mas-

* Jews have been mean. They have been vulgar and vile. They have been dirty and tricky. They have shunned the country and have infested the cities. They have turned their

ter of English literature has observed with some acuteness the prevailing trait, at least the more conspicuous external trait, of this peculiar personage of history, exacting his pound of flesh, with the passion of hatred against the Gentile who has despised him and flouted his religion. Let Shylock stand! Put him, if you will, into the group before the camera of your anthropological laboratory when you make the composite figure of the Jew of the ages. We will not even pause to controvert Count Cassini when he holds up mankind, to divert their attention

backs on agriculture and upon the handicrafts, and with their rapacious talons have seized the profitable commerce and finances of the nations. They have been parasites and usurers. They have been Shylocks and Iscariots. Jews have been all this, are all this, and for all I know, even worse than this. Not a very flattering portrait of a Jew . . . when drawn by a Jew himself. . . . A portrait of the historic Jew without these dark shadows would be as false as a portrait of an historic Christian, drawn wholly Christlike, wholly saintly, without a touch of that spirit that slaughtered the Saxons, that manipulated the torture and rack, that originated the inquisition and instituted the St. Bartholomew Night Massacres, that burned at the stakes of Smithfield, of Rome, of Geneva, of Florence, the Latimers, and Husses, the Brunos, and Servetuses, and Savanarolas.—Rabbi Krauskopf, *ibid*, p. 346.

from the blood on Russia's door lintels, by asserting that the Jew is a usurer. Perhaps he has even committed murder sometimes. And there are Ghetti in the squalid quarters of European cities where he is unquestionably filthy, notwithstanding his hatred of pork.

But the unimpassioned observer of traits, national and individual, divested of prejudice, dissecting only to find the truth, may, after all, easily cut through the surface facts and find out of this strange wanderer of the centuries, as he has found out of man everywhere, that the good in him is far greater, and infinitely more important.

The governments of Europe that hope to drive out from their domains this disturber of their peace might profitably reflect that the patriotism of the Jew has not seldom been the bulwark of states. In those dark ages, when the Jew had no place on earth but the grave itself where he could rest, and was hated even more than in Russia to-day, there were found in the Spanish armies eighty thousand Jews. In the thirteenth century thirty thousand Jews of

the army of Philip of France renounced their allegiance.* Jews fighting bravely in the armies of princes and kings, who decreed their outlawry and persecution in times of peace, have not been uncommon spectacles in ancient and modern times. It may be true that the Jews have no country. But the Jew always has a city. His country is a municipality. Its local laws he strictly obeys. Wherever he finds his municipal life implicated in the life of the government of the country, at these points there is no patriotism more faithful than that of the people of Israel. When Kossuth undertook the liberation of Hungary his cause rallied thirty thousand Jews to the military ranks. Roumanian Jews led the assault upon Plevna. When Boston, on the 17th of June, sings the praises of Warren and Prescott driving the redcoats from the summits of Bunker Hill, they should remember that the monument itself was reared by means of funds, one-half of which were given by Judah Touro, a patriotic Jew. In a day when the Jews of America were

* Peters' "Justice to the Jew," p. 76.

comparatively a handful, nearly eight thousand of them offered their lives in the two armies of the American Civil War, and nearly half that number, in the recent war with Spain, were granted leave to celebrate Jewish festival days.

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The races of mankind have no parallel for the domestic virtues of the Jew. Amid the darkest corruptions of the darkest ages the hearthstone of the Jew has been a seat of virtue. The stolid peasant of Russia feels no thrill of ambition to make his son more than he is himself. The farmer breeds farmer's sons, and the wine seller begets never anything but a wine seller. But in the midst of the unprogressive ideals of the darkest land of Europe the Jew always plans for a better life ahead for his children. The virtue of his daughter and the worldly condition of his sons engross his mind, and around his hearthstone cluster all his earthly hopes. He teaches his children the religion of his fathers, and the sublime morality of the Hebrew faith is the household law among the Jews. And if in the un-

favorable crowding of the Ghetto there is filth and the stench of disease, the Ghetto, and those who drive him there, are more at fault than he. The whole ceremonial training of a Jew makes naturally for cleanliness, though it may not always be sufficient to overbear the stress of poverty, where all the surroundings are wretched beyond compare.

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Barbarism hates the light. In the light the air of liberty circulates and the people become free. Nihilism, that is dangerous to Russia, has no power in the United States. It happens that this figure with the blood stains on him, when his composite photograph has been displayed, is a creature of superior intellectual type. A child can live in ignorance in the family of the Russian peasant; and the priest, and the agitator, and the supporter of those superstitions that in a dark land are the bulwark of the social fabric can manipulate his ignorance without limit. Enlighten the peasant of Russia, and presently he will not only remove all the stains that blacken the floorways of the throne, he will remove

the throne itself. But to this day the priest and the shadow of ancient barbarism hold the Russian peasant in his ignorance, and by him, through his superstitions and his prejudices and his inertia, the throne remains safe, and the darkness opaque that shrouds the cheerless lot of the common people.

It is not so with the Jew. In a Jew's house no child can live in unenlightened ignorance. If, even amid the deprivations of their lot in a land like Russia, they could prosper sufficiently to become usurers, it is because the Jew educates his children.*

* "It is, indeed, this capacity for betterment that is at the root of Russian antipathy to the Hebrews. In the midst of an older economic system of customary prices and long credits, they introduce a principle of keen competition that cuts down prices and profits to the advantage of the consumer indeed, but not to the advantage of the commercial classes, who are set against the Jews as rivals who excel them. The same to a large extent has occurred in the professions, where the superior energy and persistence of the Hebrew has enabled him to get ahead of his more easy-going confrères. There was a general upward movement of the Jewish population under the regime of Alexander II., and this has been the head and front of their offending.

"The root of the whole matter is racial arrogance, the determination not to allow at any cost, the Jews to show themselves superior, or even equal, to the Russians. . . . Russians them-

It matters not that they have no school. It avails not that they are surrounded by the embruted life of the peasantry. The bright black eyes of the Hebrew lad glisten always with intelligence, and his wit works a way to live where ignorance starves. It may well be believed that Jews outstrip the people among whom they live, even in Russia. They are of a race that bred Heine, Disraeli, and Auerbach; Zangwell and Maimonides; Mendelssohn, Rubenstein, Neander, and Herschel and Ricardo. From what race of equal numbers on the earth can be duplicated the list of poets, historians, statesmen, philanthropists, scientists, philosophers that make the illustrious roll of those who since days of Solomon and David have displayed the intellectual greatness of Abraham's descendants? * These are the faces, these the human features that

selves acknowledge that the remarkable progress of Western Russia of recent years has been greatly assisted, if not caused, by the commercial ability of the Jews there settled."—Jacob's "Persecution of the Jews in Russia," pp. 28–30.

* The Jewish Encyclopedia will include in its biographical list more than five thousand names of Jews of sufficient emi-

make up the composite figure of this historic man on whom are the blood-stains of age-long persecution. And Russia wants them out of her borders because they are a flashlight in a darkness where alone despotic power can any longer flourish on the face of the globe.

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Surely, having none of this blood of Jews in my veins, I have no interest in filing a caveat for the Jew. Let it be sufficient to look at him and to state the facts. It is time we made the inquiry whether mankind, attempting, for the first time since man was made, to assist intelligently the evolution of the race, can afford to leave the Jew out of the reckoning. The fate of the Jew is a question large enough to concern the human mind, now beginning to understand that human progress is almost wholly a question of intellectual, religious, and moral advancement. Shall civilized man prefer the darkness of Slavic barbarism for its seal of approval to merit notice in that work, covering actors in every department of human activity who have risen to notice in the history of the Jews.

when it oppresses a people who are by all their nature and all their history children of the light?

We cannot atone for the wrongs of past ages, if, indeed, we can right our own. I have said that Kishineff thrown into the story of the centuries is only an incident. For this figure has always been walking through a chamber of horrors, and his garments have been stained with his own blood since the era of Christ began. It suffices for our purpose to begin the record with the modern era, since the enormous slaughter of Jews under the Roman emperors was largely a result of the wars waged against the Jews as a nation, who were not more severely dealt with than other conquered forces that ventured on a similar persistent resistance. According to Talmud and Midrash the desolation of the Jews after the capture of Bithar included the complete destruction of 985 towns and fifty fortresses and the slaughter of half the Jews then living, the survivors being entirely exiled from sacked Jerusalem, which received a Roman name and baptism.

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Thenceforward the Jews were wanderers. They had a central nation, a capital and a temple no longer. Colonists in every land under the sun, they had no abiding place and no continuing city. The final ascendancy of Christianity, fixed under Constantine as the dominant religion of the falling empire of Rome, was a signal of disaster to the Jew. Every cross erected by a Christian was, in that age of cruelty and ignorance, a sign of the crucifixion that enhanced the guilt and pointed the persecution of the Jew. In Spain they might not intermarry with Christians, nor defend their lives, nor evade the exactions that robbed them of their wealth by the burden of taxes that almost supported the extravagances of the king. In the Arabian peninsula Mohammedanism was kinder to them; and they flourished for several hundred years. But Basil II., before the close of the eleventh century, had sent the Prince of the Captivity, then the greatest figure among the Jews, to the scaffold, had destroyed their schools, had driven them to flight by multitudes and reduced them to abject poverty.

Prior to 877 A.D. the lot of the Jews in France was tolerable. But as the Christian power increased and the throne fell to the weak and wicked Carlo-vignian line the lot of the Jews became severe. From the eleventh century to the fourteenth there was but one long and ghastly series of massacres and persecutions. This immortal race survived it. They were accused of poisoning wells, of murdering Christian children to drink their blood, of blasphemy and heresy against the Christian religion. They were sawn asunder in market places, tortured in the dungeons of the Inquisition, drowned in the Seine and the Garonne, torn to pieces by wild horses, given over to the attacks of dogs, crucified on stakes by the roadsides, burned by slow fires in the squares of cities and cut to pieces before their own doors. At Verdun some religious epidemic seized the peasantry, and in an uprising in 1321, and for some years following, massacres were of almost daily occurrence. Women threw their children from the walls of their fortress, hoping to appease the bloodthirst of the populace. In whole provinces every Jew was

burned. At Chinon the infuriated peasants built a vast pyre in a ditch which they had dug, and there burned 160 Jews in the same horrible holocaust. And history tells us that these resolute and patient martyrs, unable to satisfy or to escape the zeal of their Christian persecutors, sang their hymns amid the flames and went to death with the name of the God of Abraham on their lips, forgiving their murderers as Christ had done on his cross. Finally they were entirely banished from France (1395).

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Those who study the question of Jewish immigration into America should note with interest the fact that the Anglo-Saxon nation from which the United States chiefly claims descent, though it has persecuted the Jew has never massacred him. England had Jewish colonies as early as the ninth century. They were favored by William Rufus, and before him by William the Norman, the former monarch once being heard to swear "by the face of St. Luke" that he was minded to become a Jew himself. Under John (Lackland) they were at first favored, but with

cruel vacillation this monarch afterwards plundered them, and they were imprisoned and maltreated all over the realm. Even as early as the days of Richard Lion Heart, however, outrages against Jews were sternly punished. Individuals of a mob that attacked Jews in London were hanged, and many others were imprisoned. The ambassador at Washington, sent here to represent the Government of Russia, might profit by the example of Richard Glanville, who, as the king's chief of justiciary, more than eight hundred years ago, sent three rioters to the gallows for killing Jews in an outbreak of the mob. It did not seem to have occurred to this ancient minister of justice that usury by Jews was a sufficient justification for killing them.

Nevertheless, even in England the lot of this hunted people was so severe that sixteen thousand of them emigrated in 1290 to Germany and France. In the former country the sovereigns of that day regarded Jews as his personal property, to be treated as slaves if they so chose to treat them. Bankrupt nobles customarily replenished their coffers by raids

against the Jews. Then, as now, the Jews made the money and the Gentiles robbed them of it. When the Crusades had kindled religious zeal, the Jews suffered by it more than the Moslems. Strasburg, Treves, Cologne, Maintz, Worms, Spires were among the cities that were drenched in the blood of Jews. The Germans had a cry, from which some philologists have derived the English exclamation of "Hip! Hip! (Hurrah)." It was the word "hep," abbreviation for "Hierosolyma est perdita" (Jerusalem is destroyed), and this word was the signal commonly used to rally a mob for the massacre of Jews. From the eleventh to the fourteenth century they were driven, with slaughter, torture, rapine and death, from all the principal towns of the German empire. Slain by thousands, without regard to age or sex, women and children sharing in the massacres that aimed at extermination, and always yielded fruit in their confiscated estates, they often rushed by choice to die in the flames of their burning synagogues, where beneath the holy altar of their religion they were immolated as a penalty

for being Jews, in the name, usually, of the Prince of Peace, of whose crucifixion the ages have falsely * accused them. For a time this massacred race almost disappeared from Germany, to be called back at length because their value as creators and handlers of wealth was too great to be lost, and allured even the kings and princes who massacred them to invite them to return.

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The Jews of Spain on the whole were the worst sufferers. They reacted from the horrible persecu-

* Jewish scholars quite generally affirm that the trials of Jesus recorded in our gospels were illegal on various grounds, and could not, therefore, fairly be charged upon the Jews as a nation. Whatever the offence of the High Priest and such members of the Sanhedrim as actually assembled in the High Priest's chamber to accuse Jesus, crucifixion itself was performed by the Romans, under the charge of Roman soldiers. Rabbi Gottheil affirms that the Jews, as a class, never rejected Jesus, but on the contrary, relying on the Gospels themselves, they received his ethical and spiritual teachings. They repudiated his claim to be Messiah, without doubt, and leading Jews caused his apprehension, and conducted the accusation against him, but it may be doubted if this age-long hatred of Jews as a nation, has even the crucifixion of Jesus as a valid excuse. Compare footnote by H. Pereira Mendes, in "Justice to the Jew," p. 314.

tions of the Gothic princes of the sixth and seventh centuries, and naturally became allies of the Moors in their invasion. The Mohammedans appreciated their assistance, raised them to a flourishing condition and made them nearly equals with the Moors themselves in the privileges and honors of the realm. Flourishing thus they increased in numbers, and their eminence and value as a social factor, their service in the military forces and their high intelligence in all matters of science, education and statecraft led them to be sought for by the Christian monarchs of the northern and middle provinces.

Then followed the usual story, but a little more ghastly and sanguinary than the world had before witnessed. The nobility wasted their substance—they could always find Jews who had saved theirs. Christian zeal could always be depended upon to flame against the crucifiers of Christ, as represented in their Abrahamic descendants. In 1391 and 1392 Seville, Toledo, Catelonia, Majorca, Cordova witnessed the outbreak of the religious flames against Jews. God alone has recorded the number of the

murdered martyrs. Wholesale robbery bereft those who survived of even the means to exist, and they starved and died in the streets. At the point of the sword, to the number of about 200,000, they were converted (?) to Christianity. They fled in great numbers into Africa.

The fifteenth century witnessed a repetition of these scenes. The tortures of the Inquisition included Jews by hundreds. The *auto de fé* was the common method of amusing the populace, and the victims of the fire were nearly always Jews. In the city of Seville, 280 Jews were burned in a single year. At length the edict of Ferdinand and Isabella smote this people with the grand calamity of their history, to which even the destruction of Jerusalem stands second in magnitude. Torquemada applied to the sovereign of Spain the name Judas, when upon the offer of a vast bribe the royal pair hesitated to execute their own decree. The Jews were to leave the country within the short period of four months or embrace the Christian faith. This vast exodus is estimated to include from 300,000 to 800,-

000 Jews. Eighty thousand of them reached Portugal, with incidents of hardship calculated to make one weep. Mothers left their babes to die in the dust of the road. Starved pilgrims were turned from wells full of water by the merciful Christians, who jeered them as they died.

In Portugal, for a per capita bribe, they were suffered to stay eight months. Of those who exceeded the limit the poorer were sold as slaves. Almost every land was closed against them. Emmanuel of Portugal ordered all Jewish children under fourteen years of age to be torn from their mothers and educated as Christians. Jewish mothers drowned and stabbed their children to save them from the decree. The persecution lasted until the eighteenth century.

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Holland was one of the first countries in modern times to give tolerance and fair treatment to the Jew. The great reassertion of human reason that began with the Reformers of Germany and Eng-

land had already affected humane interests in Holland, and in the seventeenth century they were permitted to settle and trade in the Low Countries with few restrictions, and acquired all the important rights of citizenship before the close of the eighteenth century. In England the edict of expulsion remained in force for 300 years, but in the time of Charles II. they were permitted to return and settle in the island. Since that day Jews have enjoyed the rights of free subjects under the successive English sovereigns.

Elsewhere many persecutions have disgraced the various countries of Europe. Yet the growing spirit of enlightenment in France, Germany, and Italy has resulted in the great advancement of this race. In Germany and France they have risen in many instances to high offices in the State, and have won distinctions in every walk of civil life.

Russia, chiefly, has been the offender of modern days against the Jew. Peter the Great during his reign admitted the Jews to Russia. In 1743 30,000 Jews were expelled by the Empress Elizabeth.

Under Catherine II. they enjoyed tolerance and protection and returned in large numbers. Alexander I., by two decrees of 1805 and 1809, insured them full liberty of trade, but of this his successor, Nicholas, deprived them again.

When Poland was absorbed by the powers it had become almost wholly a Jewish country. As “an inheritance from Poland,” that Russia has from the first regarded as an unwelcome addition to her human assets, they have never been assimilated. “Beside Poland itself, there are eight provinces of Western Russia (Vilno, Kovno, Vitebsk, Grodno, Minsk, Mohilev, Volhynia, Podolia) which formerly belonged to Poland. Jews are also found in the three provinces of Ukraine or Little Russia (Kiev, Tchernigov and Poltava), and in the four divisions of South Russia (Ekatrinoslav, Taurida, Cherson, Bessarabia). Western, Little and South Russia, these form the notorious Jewish Pale of Settlement, and within these precincts the ordinary Russian Jew must live and die. He must not set foot in holy and orthodox Great Russia, in the Czardoms of

Kasan and Astrakan, nor in Finland and the Baltic provinces.” *

The results of this limitation would have been tolerable, if within this Pale Jews had the benefit of equal laws. Under the tolerant reign of Alexander II. some agricultural colonies were established outside the Pale, but the conditions that governed the settlements were such that their success was impossible. These and similar experiments in the reign of Nicholas are the attempts to which Count Cassini refers when he accuses the Jews of Russia of failing to become agriculturists.

The best refutation of the statement, giving at the same time the causes for the failure of these colonies, is contained in Harold Frederic's "The New Exodus."

"Nicholas, too" (says the author of "The New Exodus"), "made numerous efforts to plant Jews upon the soil as agriculturists. The story of these attempts is one of the most melancholy in the whole unhappy records of the race—at once melancholy and grimly grotesque. We all remember the scene in 'Great Expectations' of the little boy who, scared out of his wits by the apparition

* Jacobs' "Persecution of the Jews in Russia," p. 5.

of the mad old spinster in her wild bridal array, hears the awful voice bidding him get down on the floor and play. In the same fashion the wretched Jew, physically feeble, poverty-stricken, under-fed, cooped up in the crowded Ghetto of his town, densely ignorant of even the names of plants and farm implements, was suddenly commanded by an imperial voice of thunder to be an agriculturist. Great colonies of Jews, sometimes numbering hundreds of families, were now gathered up promiscuously, transported across the desolate prairie land of Novorossusk and dumped down upon the unbroken soil, to thrive by agriculture. In any case the experiment could have promised scant success. As it was managed, it became simply murderous. A staff of officials, almost as numerous as the colonists themselves, was appointed to control the thing. Each family was supposed to be granted 175 roubles, but of this the officials gave the family only thirty. The rest was purported to have been expended by buying land, farm machinery, etc., and building houses. But seven-eighths of it was really stolen, and such colonists as did not die on the road found only groups of shanties not fit for pigs and implements which broke in their hands. Here, under the control of brutal officials, who knouted the incapable but could not instruct or advise the industrious, these unhappy Jews died of epidemics and starvation. The chief digging they did was the digging of graves.”

But within the Pale of Settlement Jews from the time of their absorption by Russia have been the victims of discriminations that, to the mind of an American, seem too outrageous to be tolerated by civilization. The Jew, though born in Russia, is declared to be an alien. He can hold no office in the empire, nor in the city where he is cooped up for his life time. Except in some favored cases he may not travel. No Jew can hold landed property nor buy it. A deed to a Jew is worthless. In connection with his religious functions, beside the taxes that support the Greek Church he must pay special taxes as a Jew. If a married Jew converts to the Greek Church his reception is an *ipso facto* divorce from his Jewish wife, but the wife may not marry again. The Jew must serve five years in the army and thirteen years in the reserve, but no Jew can rise from the ranks, nor even become the servant of a Russian officer.* Yet the world should know that

* "One of the reasons mentioned by the Ambassador for the hostility on the part of the Russians is the unwillingness of the Jews to assimilate. One single incident indicating where the fault lies may be mentioned. The last figures available to me

Jews, in conditions that seem impossible, under such laws as these, have lived and escaped starvation. This remarkable people, shut up in towns, forbidden the soil, their children excluded from the public education,* subject to the exactions of the inexorable

for the recruits in the Russian Army are those for 1896, which show that during that year 15,831 were drafted in the Russian Army, yet none of them upon any account is allowed to become a commissioned officer. The Russian Jew has, however, the privilege of being killed in defense of his country. It is thus shown from a hasty examination of the interview of the Ambassador that he has in no case given an accurate statement of the causes producing the riot at Kishineff under discussion, and one is led to the painful conclusion that he either is unacquainted with affairs in his own country or that he wilfully intended to mislead the American people.”—Dr. Cyrus Adler, of the Smithsonian Institution, in the *Times*, May 22.

* “The Ambassador states that the Jewish genius is appreciated in Russia, and the Jewish artist honored. The May laws, to which reference has been made, restricts the number of Jewish students at the universities and gymnasiums, carrying these restrictions even to private technical schools established by Jews themselves. Jews were forbidden to be army doctors, the college for veterinary surgeons was closed to them, they were prevented from acting as engineers, excluded from the civil service, and only allowed to become members of the legal profession upon a special permit from the Minister of Justice.”

—*Ibid.*

tax gatherer, and practically forbidden about all the means of living at all, but for the robbery of those who add to the legal oppression the irregular extortion would still surpass the free population of Russians, in all that goes to effect the support of their families and the improvement of their minds.

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These conditions, hard as they were under the mild rule of Alexander II., were made much harder after the outbreak of 1881. Under the anti-Semitic policy of Ignatieff the May Laws (of May 3, 1882) were proclaimed. They restricted still farther the Pale of Settlement by forbidding Jews to settle except for agriculture, outside the towns and townlets where they then resided. They deprived the Jews of the right to hold lands in fee simple or to lease landed estates outside the place of their residence. They were forbidden to trade on Sunday, or on the Christian holidays as prescribed by the Greek Church. Jews who did not reside in the villages prior to 1882 were driven out of them, and the registers, often inaccurate, were the certificate alone ac-

cepted to prove residence. Under it families that had resided in some villages for ten years were driven out without the least leniency. Women who were sick begging the mercy of the district official, were driven from their homes in midwinter, and the peasants were ordered under threat of Siberian punishment not to shelter an expelled Jew. Children were carried out upon the road and abandoned in the night by officials who were evicting the families.* Under the decrees of Alexander II. artisans were allowed to live outside the Pale of Settlement. But the local official, intent on driving the Jew wherever he wished him to be, was left to define the word, and in the province of Smolensk, for example, bakers, butchers, glaziers and makers of vinegar were declared not to be artisans and were deprived of this right. "Twenty-five Jewish printers at Moscow were summarily dismissed and sent back to the Pale, though some of them had lived outside of it as compositors since 1874." †

* Jacobs' "Persecution of the Jews in Russia," p. 12.

† *Ibid.*, p. 14.

Except in a small and inequitable proportion, the public schools are not open to the children of Jews. Rescripts forbade them to establish schools of their own. Nevertheless, the Jew educates his children. They cannot be engineers nor applicants for civil service positions; Jews may be punished under special ordinances of various cities for "disrespect," and the local magistrate determines the measure of the offence.

We need not prolong this catalogue that forms the indictment of the Czar's Government. Leave the story but half told, and it stands as a record of causeless and excuseless injustice that makes the cheeks burn and the blood flow in indignation. It is against a people thus hemmed in and hedged about with iron and cruel laws, shut into the towns, herded in Ghetti and deprived of the rights of slaves, that the mobs of Kishineff directed their act of assassination. They were only repeating the example of twenty years earlier, when the fury of a similar storm broke on Kieff and Elizabethgrad.

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The year 1881 remains recorded in blood in the memory of the Jews of South Russia. If the world remembers those scenes, still fresh in the mind of a generation still living in that part of the empire, the world will quickly warn the Czar that Kishineff will be but a starting point for similar scenes in 1903 unless there is unabated vigor at the Russian capital.

Seven provinces of Southern Russia “were ablaze with violence and riot” in the former year, beginning with an Easter outbreak at Elizabethgrad. Those who have read the story of Kishineff need not to have described for them the sickening details of the outrages of 1881. Then, as now, the military and the police, the Governor and the Czar were appealed to in vain to protect the Jewish populations from riots that were announced beforehand and led by Panslavist agitators from Great Russia. Innumerable deeds of violence were transacted. Orders were printed and circulated by the Jew haters, purporting to issue from the royal palace itself, giving all property of Jews to the Christians who chose to take it. Property valued at \$80,000,000

was destroyed. A hundred thousand Jewish families were reduced from affluence to poverty. More than 5,000 Jews fled to the Austrian border. In Minsk alone 6,000 Jews lost their homes by fire. Seventeen villages were entirely deserted by their Jewish inhabitants. In forty-five towns and villages it was possible to ascertain that 225 women suffered violation at the hands of mobs, nearly always assisted by the soldiers and the police. It is a matter of common estimate that not one half of such offences ever reach the light.*

Thus in his historic chamber of horrors has walked through the centuries this sorrowful figure with the blood stains on him. Thus has he been hunted, pillaged and slain. Thus has every age and every land joined in the ghastly undoing of the Jew.


* Jacobs' "Persecution of the Jews in Russia." This work is in two pamphlets. The first gives (pamphlet of 1882, reprinted from London *Times*) a succinct and graphic account of the horrors of 1881, with comment. The second (pamphlet of 1890, issued by the London Russo-Jewish Committee) gives an analytical summary of the May laws, pointing out the effects of them on Russian Jews.

Is it not time the tragedy ended?

Long ago, whatever innumerable sins lie at his door, whatever curse of ancient times he may have incurred, whatever mark of sorrow was laid on him by the destinies that shape his ends, God knows, and man knows, that this figure walking there in the world's chamber of horrors has amply atoned. Let his enemies affirm all his sins, let his accusers establish their charges before the courts of heaven, attested by the Angel of Record and witnessed by the saints of ages, still there is no more blood suffering due the Jew. It is time for civilization to interfere.

Chapter III

A Contrast of Types

F salvation ever comes to Russia it must come from without. Her interior evils feed and breed from their own fecundity. The foment of the world are little felt as yet among her masses, and democracy is unknown to the vast majority of her teeming populations.

It is the condition of these masses, it is the disposition and definitive character of the common people that determine in the long run the quality of government. If Russia is a despotism, or a system of paternalism, it is because her masses are not ready for anything higher. The unrest so far is at the top. There is no hope for Russia until the unrest strikes the ambitions and intents of the common people.

The chief human value in Russia, therefore, is the population that forms the small minority of

which the Jew is the most important factor. While of the Russian population adherent to the State religion and the other faiths of the empire about one in ten can read, the percentage of Jews that cannot read would be smaller yet.* When the Jew educates his children he enters upon a process that if carried out by the Russian masses would speedily make Russia a centre of revolution and bring the empire into accord with the Teutonic and Anglo-Saxon elements of Europe in constructing the future democracy of the world.

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The great agricultural populations of the empire, together with the small tradesmen and local artisans, who are not superior to them in character or intelligence, constitute the bulk of the Russian people. As a type of man this peasant is a child, or, if his fury is aroused, a beast. But just emerged from serfdom, his ignorance is dense and immoral. The culture of civilization, the benefits of science, art

* Authority of Joseph Jacobs, M.A.

and literature have not touched him directly at all. For his information about the world and all its affairs he is dependent upon the priest of the parish, the servants in the nobleman's family, or the common rumor that creeps from mouth to mouth as the mysterious news carrier of the town or country.

Paternalism is their ideal government. To them, one and all, the Czar is the earthly providence, a semi-divine being who holds all their fortunes in his hands. If they hate the nobles who enslave and rob them, they fancy that the Czar is always on their side. During the month of April, 1902, a report spread, somehow, among some of the southern peasantry that the Czar had decided to distribute the property of the nobles among the farmers and artisans. The report was credited straightway, and the peasants of Poltava and Kharkoff and of some other districts appointed meetings with the nobles to arrange for the amicable distribution of the lands. When they found that their assertion that the Czar had given them the lands was laughed at, more than 18,000 peasants engaged in riots that were not suppressed

until many of them had been killed or wounded by the military.

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The ignorance of the peasant Slav is not relieved by contact with those who are nearest to him and who impart to him all his ideas. Of these the priest stands first.

Whatever worthy examples may be found among them, the typical priest of the Holy Orthodox Russian Church is but little more enlightened than the people whom he instructs. His morality is that of the Middle Ages, and so indeed is his theology. Drunkenness is a small sin in a priest. That he shares the national characteristic of polite mendacity is commonly understood. In his person he represents the nearly entire divorce between religion and morality that belongs to all the spectacular and benighted faiths of mankind.

The towns of Russia are adorned with churches, forming objects of exceptional beauty compared with the secular buildings of the communities. A church is built to celebrate every public event. In every

peasant's house is liable to be found an altar and rude picture of the saints. Every child has a guardian angel. The baptismal cross is worn by the peasant even when he is butchering the Jew. Every Wednesday and Friday he fasts. He prays as naturally as he breathes, and attends mass as regularly as he eats his breakfast. His sins that he never commits he confesses with unction, and knows not that the sins he really commits are really sinful. To all sacred things, that is to say, all things that the priest blesses or that belong to ecclesiastical places, or have religious associations, he pays deference intuitively. He cries "Glory to God" as freely as a small American boy shouts "hurrah!" on the Fourth of July. He makes pilgrimages to holy shrines and pays taxes cheerfully to the church.

But this low-browed peasant, not yet far emerged on the road of his evolution from the savage, counts it no sin to lie. He sells the virtue of his daughter to relieve his poverty without compunction. He even trains her to be disposed of profitably. In this he is not worse than the peasant of Austria-Hungary or of some other parts of Europe and Asia.

Portents and signs, lucky days and charms to ward off evil are among his assets of belief and practice. The inventions that make agriculture profitable in America would be inventions of Satan to this peasant. He digs the ground with a wooden spade or plows it with a wooden plow, and sometimes harnesses or yokes his wife to the plow with his ox or heifer to draw it through the thin top of the soil. In June, 1902, an outbreak in the Caucasus occurred because the peasants were told that some factories or farms had introduced new machinery. They raised the cry that the machines would rob them of employment. They were told, and they believed, that their good father the Czar had sent them word to destroy the machines because they were a device to grind the poor.

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Consider how ineradicable may be a set of fixed ideas in a stagnant and unprogressive population of peasants like those of Russia. One of those fixed ideas, brought down with other falsehoods from the Middle Ages, is the belief that Jews celebrate their

Passover with human blood. If any selfish or scheming clique of persons, conceiving hatred for Jews, desires to arouse an outbreak against them anywhere among ignorant people, here is a weapon always ready to hand. Let it be bruited about that a child has been murdered to make a Jewish Passover and the superstitious and ever credulous peasant, who believes readily and childishly the latest thing he has heard, is ready to murder Jews.

Accusations of this nature against Jews date back to the Middle Ages. It is not surprising that they were credited by the people of that day. The peasantry of Russia, however, are, at this day, in about the same stage of superstition and ignorance with those who in 1255 believed the confession of Jopin, a Jew, who, to save his life, confessed that the Jews had crucified a lad, one Hugh of Lincoln, for his blood. Eighteen Jews were executed for this alleged offence.

Since that day many Jews have suffered from this belief. The historian has noted 120 instances in which the accusation has been made in the period

between 1144 and 1900 A.D., commonly with fatal effects upon the Jews accused. At Bloise in 1171 this charge was visited upon them by the burning of thirty-one Jews and Jewesses; at Wolfsheim in 1235 eighteen Jews were killed as a consequence of this charge. About ninety Jews at Munich in 1285, thirty at Poesing in 1529, 128 at Bucharest in 1801 are included in this black list. On these accusations persecutions arose at various times in different countries, sometimes lasting as long as twelve years, and causing the destruction of the lives of Jews to a number that will never be certainly known.*

By modern methods of evidence there is less ground for this wicked accusation than for witchcraft in the days of the Salem excitement. Yet there were always found persons who would testify against Jews, and often there were found Jews, either under torture or on the promise of being spared from death, who would confess these crimes or accuse their brethren. There is not recorded in any literature of the Jews a word or sentence that

* Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. III; article, "Blood Accusation."

goes to authorize the ritualistic use in modern times of human blood. Of course the educated classes of Russia disbelieve this superstition of the peasantry, but it is a commentary on the condition of the peasant mind, and of Russia, among the better civilizations of the earth that it still remains one of the fixed ideas of the great mass of the Russian population, and it goes far to account for the ease with which they are incited to outbreaks against the Jews.

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In this land of ignorance, superstition and mediæval darkness the question of living at all is a serious one for the vast majority of its populace. The introduction of competitive forces where stable conditions of level poverty have always prevailed is, by the nature of the case, disturbing. The peasant is poor, but he is poor because he is ignorant. He has no defence against the noble, the priest, the tax extortioner, the political and official blackmailer, because the chances are he could not reckon the amount of his losses or intelligently protest against robbery.

Naturally he stands no chance in competitive dealing with a people as thrifty and progressive as the Jew. He has not thrift, he does not know how to save and prosper. When he finds the more intelligent Hebrews accumulating wealth he has only the power to complain and to hate. He has one remedy, and he knows no other. The Good Father, the Czar, can make laws to have the Jew unjustly taxed, to limit his chance to accumulate, to take the rewards of his thrift away and give them to the people or the nobles. So long as Jews can be kept down to the degraded level of the peasants among whom they live, the Czar proves himself a beneficent and satisfactory despot and retains the affection of his subjects. The throne of Russia rests on the ignorance of the peasantry. The empire is brutally strong only because it stands for darkness.

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From the standpoint of paternalism and despotism the Jew is a disturber and a marplot. But if you shift the angle of vision, and begin to regard him in his relation to the world's progress toward democ-

racy, every civilized man with the spirit of the future in his heart will understand that Russia, living in darkness and persecuting the children of Abraham, is contending at last against the spirit of the world, against the evolution of the race, against the inevitable future that will either regenerate Russia or destroy her.

By all his long education in passing through the most wonderful and most significant history ever lived by any race of men, the Jews are the conservators and examples of the spirit of democracy. They carry the central fact of democracy wherever they live—namely, in the fact that they have always largely governed themselves. Wherever Jews go, straightway they erect in the State, be it large or small, and whatever its distinguishing character, an *imperium in imperio*. Subject to whatever laws, they at once prove their superiority to the laws that govern them, either by ingenuity in living a free life in spite of the laws, or by taking such advantage of their conditions under the laws by their control of wealth, that they manage to escape much of the

burden that otherwise tyrannous legislation imposes. And above all, their exclusive family life has at all times made them almost wholly independent of the most drastic and severe code of all—namely, the unwritten customs and ideas that govern social life. The Jew has always created his own social fabric almost without regard to the social order under which he has been placed. His religion and his hearthstone, constituting the bulk of his life, he has largely controlled himself.

Democracy in the last analysis is the governing power that is developed from within, as despotism is the extreme of external power imposed from without. The difference, fundamental and final, between the spirit of the Jewish people and the spirit of Russia, is to be sought, and will be found, in this difference between self-government and the spirit of paternalism. The Russian peasant, able to live only by the special laws and paternal care of the Father-Czar is a world type, that must pass away. The Jew, having in his very heart and lifeblood both the instinct and the power of self-government, places

himself clearly in the line, if not in the van, of the evolution of man into a self-governing being, and is a prophet of the day when even the shadow of kingship and the external tyranny of aristocracies shall utterly disappear from the earth.

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The democracy of the Jew is, primarily, the spirit of his religion, rested on the independent and resilient virility and moral vitality of the Old Testament. The impress of the just and far reaching ethical laws of Moses have in them the very essence of humane democracy. They have ever been and remain to this day the code that is better understood and more implicitly taught among Jews than any other law whatever. Weinstock asserts that the "Ten Commandments have had a greater influence upon humanity, have done more to uplift mankind, to bring it nearer to God, to raise man's moral conceptions than any like number of words ever uttered. Take (he says) these Ten Commandments from civilization and the world would soon drift back into idolatry and paganism, with all their abominations.

The softening character, the gentler spirit in man would gradually disappear, and in its place would again develop man's innate spirit of selfishness and cruelty. Man instead of learning to worship God would once more be taught to worship man, if not creatures lower than man. A few, by virtue of greater mental, moral, or physical power, would once again become the world's masters, and the many would soon again become their helpless dependents, if not their slaves. The possession of a soul would be credited only to the high and mighty, who would be given a standing before the gods; the rest would be looked upon as worthy of no greater consideration than that given to cattle. They would become mere hewers of wood and drawers of water." *

It has often been noted by observers of national traits and the courses of history that the Bible has everywhere made for the spirit of progress and liberty. It is a book that is full of the high strain of monotheism, and the Jew, believing first in one God, even when that God was but little more than a na-

* "Jesus the Jew" (Funk & Wagnalls Co.), p. 173.

tional diety, affirmed that all princes reigned only by his permission and that all kings decreed justice according only to His law. Under this conception the priest was coördinate with the earthly king and could call him to account. Under such a system any considerable tyranny by the king was impossible. There was always an appeal from the king to the law, and the law was the revealed law of God. That right of appeal insured under every monarch a democratic government, and the power never left the hands of the common people.

With the Jew morality and religion always went together. The law itself, representing not mere human opinion, but the will of Jehovah, is full of moral precept. Even its ceremonial was a moral contrivance, relative immediately to the sense of sin in the heart of the individual, and when the altar smoked with incense, it was a symbol at last of the expiation of sin.

While under this law slavery was in old time permitted, it was limited and hedged about in a way that provided for its self-extinction in the course of

the nation's progress. It was full of prohibitions against cruelty to the poor.* Even the cattle and sheep were guarded against cruel masters. Licentiousness was prohibited and discouraged. Usury was inveighed against over and over. Moses said: "Just balances, just weights, a just ephah, a just hin, shall ye have." Lying and deceit were condemned whether practised on a Jew or on a stranger.

What is far more to the point, this morality of the Hebrew religion is instilled as a life principle into the mind of every Jewish child, at his mother's knee and in his father's house. While something is made by Jews of the ceremonial of their religion, the Jew has not merely a creed and a ceremonial. He is taught from his childhood to connect his moral life with the practice of his religion, and the sons of Jews looking forward to trade and commerce are taught strict justice in their dealing, and the daughters looking forward to honorable marriage are taught the virtue of chastity by the examples of Miriam and Judith, and of domestic duties

* Weinstock, "Jesus the Jew," p. 177.

by the proverbs of Solomon and the lives of Sarah, Rachel, and Rebecca.

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From the view point of an observer who is looking to the future of man, and forecasting his upward movements, especially his coming brotherhood of equality and of liberty, Russia is the most interesting of the powers of Europe. For notwithstanding the stagnancy and poverty of her masses, the impact of civilization has begun a ferment; and men who believe in the potency of democratic, that is to say, of Christian ideas, already foresee that the ferment will increase, and devoutly hope that it will make an end of the darkness of barbaric despotism. In the light of such a hope, Kishineff with all its horrors is instructive and symptomatic. The reaction of American, English, and German opinion upon the ruling powers and ruling classes of Russia will certainly apprise them that Kishineff is an anachronism which the twentieth century condemns.

This ferment within is mostly possible because there are in the empire five million progressive Jews,

who will not always be kept under. The spirit of liberty that breathes in them from the teachings of their national book, and suffuses their blood with an inheritance of democratic instinct four thousand years old, makes them the hopeful element in all that dark and stagnant empire. The educated Russian and the enterprising Russian Jew, the two elements of the ferment, will together more and more connect their thought and their effort with the leading forces that make up the progressive powers of America and democratic England, and in this lies the hope of regeneration.

The task of educating the Slavic peasant will be solved by the presence in Russia of the Jews. Whenever the sentiment of the civilized powers becomes strong enough to result in a demand for equal rights for the Jew in Russia, that accomplishment alone will make necessary the education of the peasantry up to a condition of self-support. The machine plough must take the place of the spade and the instrument of wood, in order that among the nations of the earth Russia's population may not

starve. Science and the inventions of civilized life will be forced upon Russia to save her vast populations from beggary and pauperism. Whenever five million Jews have an equal chance at the soil, at the trades, at the commerce of Russia, that is enjoyed by the Slavic race, they will almost certainly possess the wealth of Russia as against the present unenterprising masses of the people. If government intervention to oppress the Jew is forced to give place to government measures to make all her populations wealth producing, by advancing their education and utilizing the inventions of civilized nations in agriculture and the arts, it will happen that the peasant himself will turn democratic, and sooner or later will see that his final welfare is in his own capacity for self-support, and not in the benevolent paternalism of the Czar.

It is time then, as I have said, for civilization to interfere, and demand for the Jew his rightful place in Russia. By no stretch of the imagination can we suppose that five millions of Jews will migrate. They will stay, and their staying should be,

and doubtless will be, the best thing that Russia can experience, and the best thing for the world in general. Whatever welcome America may give to refugees, the American, studying the problem of the Russian Jew, will not find the refugee the chief point of interest, nor the largest question to consider. It is the Jew in Kishineff who, in spite of the dead bodies in her streets, and the fears that oppress him that he may be massacred at any Easter festival, will stay in Kishineff; it is the Jew in all the Pales of Settlement throughout the sixteen provinces where he may live who must be studied by those who take large outlook upon the problem. Civilization must break down the Pale of Settlement. It must revise the oppressive laws under which now the Jew but barely is able to exist, with the exercise of all his splendid traits of morality and thrift. It must set loose more and more, in the benighted empire of the Czar, those potent ferments of Mosaic democracy that since the days of the Solomonic kingdom have made the common people potent in self-government. It must spread through Russia

the element of intelligence and ethical statesmanship that characterizes the people of Israel. It must abolish, through his activities and his enterprise, the superstitious prejudices of the stolid masses of the empire, and build up by the hands of Jews a new ideal of human life, and a new value of national character.*

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* "The Jew has scattered to the four corners of the earth, there to remain, and by his industry, his thrift, and his faithfulness to his convictions to set an example that every nationality may profit by. If through bitter persecutions of long centuries he has taken on some other traits that are not so commendable, they will gradually disappear in the social give and take of free and equal intercourse. The Jew is a citizen of all lands. He has proved himself a good citizen in those critical moments when every man is put to the supremest test. He is doing his share of the hard and dirty work of the world. He is adding his share to the literature, art, science, music, philanthropy and wise legislation of the world. The time has come to recognize that, Jew or Gentile, every man is to be measured by his life and his works, and that a brutal race and religious prejudice, that has to its account more crimes during the past 1900 years than any other one besotted bigotry that has inflamed the minds of men, should be once and for all finally dismissed from the thought of the world."—*Iowa Register*, May 23, 1902.

When we speak in the name of Christianity, we ought not to be deceived by the reflection that in Russia this is partly a question at issue between the Christian and the Jew. When Dr. MacArthur says of the Kishineff massacre: "I would rather be a Jewish victim of Kishineff than one of the so-called Christian murderers," and declares that "if this massacre is the product of Christianity then some of us are ready to forsake Christianity," he did not probably intend to impeach Christianity as he understands it, nor to exalt Judaism as a system above the religion of Jesus. His utterance was only a way, perhaps, of saying that the Christianity of Russia is not to be owned as such, in so far as it may be responsible for these deeds. There is, in short, an official and ecclesiastical Christianity that is very far removed from the gospel of Jesus.

Such is the Christianity of official Russia. It is, for the most part, a spectacular and creedal Christianity, derived from the semi-pagan beliefs and practices of a past age, and entirely removed from the simple teachings of Jesus. The Constantino-

politan rescript of the Nicean Creed, with the more modern symbols incorporated into the system, is a product of the semi-paganism that was represented in the compromise of conflicts which pacified themselves in condemning Arianism, and in affirming a mass of metaphysical contradictions with which the subsequent ages might plague the heretics of Christendom. Those creeds remain in many churches, but the Greek Church of Russia has not felt the great world movements that, in all civilized Christendom, have reduced them to the curiosity shop, or the laboratory of the ecclesiastical historian. They remain the accepted and believed formulæ of an ignorant priesthood, who can conjure with them all the better because they do not understand them.

Such incomprehensible formulæ have magic efficacy with minds of a low order, especially if they are accompanied with the religious incantations of an imposing ceremonial, and constitute a reminder of the invisible powers good and evil—but always chiefly evil—by whom the worshipper is surrounded. The more profound the mystery of the ceremonial

and the creed, the more certainly does it grip the mind and dominate the imagination of ignorant men. If to this be added a complete absence of moral requirement, so that the practice of religion becomes easy, and can mostly be intrusted to some ecclesiastical establishment, you have the ideal of Russian Christianity.

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When into such conditions you interject the ethical element, and erect anywhere an ideal and example of moral requirement, the same issue arises that Jesus made with the ceremonious Pharisees of his time, and the same results are liable to ensue. Is it not enough to fast and to pray, to keep the picture of the saints in the sitting-room, and wear the cross on the breast? Is it not enough to attend the mass, and keep the holy days of the church, and make pilgrimages to the shrines, and speak reverently of the Virgin and the priest? And if a man do this, has he not satisfied the religious obligation? Has he not warded off the evil powers when he received the blessing of the priest, and crossed himself in the

darkness, and wore his religious charm? What is all this talk about loving your neighbor, and telling the truth, and practising chastity and temperance?

The average Russian peasant unconsciously reasons after this fashion. He has never felt the stress of the modern demand for reality in his religion. The unreality of the formularies, the mysterious incantations of the ceremonial have been substituted, and to him these are Christianity. Now, man is governed at last more certainly by his relation to his religion than by any other necessity whatever. You shall never change the Russian peasant until you change his religion. The very element that makes up the substance of the Jewish faith is that which the Russian peasant almost entirely lacks, namely the ethical force. A priest who is a drunkard, who is licentious, who is deceptive or false in all his life, would not be thereby disqualified from administering for a Russian peasant everything that he considers his religion. And because his relation to the world that is invisible, the most potent of all relations possible to man, contains no moral ele-

ment, the Russian peasant is the degraded being that we find him. Below all other causes this is the secret of his contrast with the Jew, and largely of the reason why he hates the Jew. The moral idea of the Jew intrudes on his peace, and disturbs his false relation to God. The Jew, demanding justice, and teaching his children chastity, stands before this hollow mockery of ceremonial and mystery as completely a contradiction of it as Christ was of the hollow religion of the Pharisee. And up to the point of the exhaustion of this ethical element of religion the Jew of Russia, and not the orthodox peasant, is the real Christian. So far it is Christ, and not the Jew, who bleeds in the Jew's person to-day in the blood-stained streets of Kishineff.

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Thus the economic, the social, the political and the religious life of the Jew stands in striking contrast with the ideals and practices of the Russian masses. In a world of reality, among men more and more demanding reality, the Jew is a modern character. Contrasted with him the type of Russian life

is a mediæval character. The contest between Russia and her Jewish population is a fragment, therefore, of the great world conflict between the darkness and ignorance of the past and the light and knowledge spreading everywhere in the earth, and promising for the future the complete enfranchisement and equality of man.

This figure, with the blood stains on him, whether in Kishineff or elsewhere, is a child of the future, and the blood stains are the mark of his divine baptism into the spirit of the future. He is of the number of those who, out of all nations, are coming up out of great tribulations, because they have washed their robes in blood. If it be in the economy of the moral universe that in the past he could come to his own by no other path, we might consider well whether or not he has not been purged with blood, to the satisfaction of God and man. The long expiation of blood conflicts, coming down from the brutal ages of the world, cannot be meant to endure forever. If Christianity has any divine significance in this economy of the ages, then it should

be a power to turn back the conflict, and introduce another order of procedure. It cannot stand for the survival of the strongest, in the face of Him who looked upon the suffering world and said to his disciples: "Feed my lambs." Christian civilization, if it be worth while to have it at all, stands for the protection of the weak, the persecuted, the oppressed, and it cannot suffer Jews any longer to be slaughtered by the conditions that support a despotism. Russia, with her back to the ice wall of the poles, bracing herself for a new descent southward, must learn that Christianity cannot suffer the earth to be overrun by the spirit of the Middle Ages, and the tyranny that shuts Jews in a Pale of Settlement to be slaughtered by mobs. It may happen in the exigencies of politics which are commonly the chosen opportunities of Divine Providence, that the American people will be they who are destined to teach this lesson to the Slav.

Chapter IV

What are His Offences?

LEROY-BEAULIEU said of the Jews:
“Their virtues are their own, their vices are of our making. Their virtues are the result of Judaic teaching; their vices are the result of circumstances which we have massed about their life.”

We do not stop to inquire of the moral character of men who are under the assassin's knife—we stay the knife. But when this has been done, and we consider further the question of giving him shelter in our house, or providing for his future, we may properly pursue the inquisition into his morals, and motives. Those who do so may be disposed, in the case of the Jew, to add to Leroy-Beaulieu's aphorism, that the Jew has, in common with other men, the ordinary vices of mankind. He is not to be

defended as though his virtues alone had made him a hunted creature of history.

Yet Macaulay seconds the sentiment I have quoted, saying that "the Jew is what we made him." In less sententious fashion Senator Vance of our own country remarks that, "if the Jew is a bad job, in all honesty we should contemplate him as the handiwork of our own civilization." And certainly no one would be willing to deny that some degree of social and moral responsibility attaches to the non-Jew for the social and moral attitude and standing of the Jew. Some part, at least, of the vicious element of life in Jews has resulted from the necessity of self-defense.

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Even in the United States the Jew is disliked and shunned by great numbers of people. When our Department of State gave its reasons for the Roumanian note of Mr. Hay, one of these reasons expressed the disinclination of this government to such policies abroad as would drive Jews in large numbers to the United States. The undercurrent, eddy-

ing back against the tide of condemnation for the Kishineff massacres, has taken the form of a considerably widespread concern, lest great numbers of refugees should be "dumped" upon these shores.*

* Since the beginning of this century, more especially, every Jewish society has been oppressed by the gravity of the question of so sudden a multiplication of the race here at a time when already the Jewish population of the United States and of New York, in particular, had been doubled within comparatively few years.

Anything like a general emigration of the Jews of Russia would increase that stream appallingly, for there are something like five millions of them. Even the augmentation of the volume of immigration by the 25,000 annually which has been predicted in some quarters would be undesirable in the interest of the newcomers themselves, of the Jews established here and of our society generally. They would be additions to a labor market already overcrowded in the departments to which they belong more specifically, and in the event of any business depression in the future there would be great suffering among them.

Even if the Jewish immigration to New York should continue at its present volume only, the Jewish population of the town, by the time of the next Federal census, would be toward one million, certainly more than three-quarters of a million. Add a still more extensive exodus of Russian Jews and, by the beginning of the next decade that race would be the most nu-

One has only to glance at the social crust of American society to learn that the Jew is a tabooed factor with a considerable element of our society. One of the most famous of our shore resorts has been entirely deserted by Gentiles because Jews in considerable number took to going there some twenty years ago. There are neighborhoods in the outlying sections of New York where once lived only families of Americans that have been entirely deserted by them for no other reason than the influx of Jewish families.

Attention was called by an eminent Jew, in one of the meetings in New York, assembled to protest against the massacre, to the fact that the leading political club of one of the great parties was not open to Jews, and that a certain literary league, intended to include the best of the literary talent of the metropolis, was similarly closed against them.

The complaint that was voiced by the Russian merous of all the foreign-born in the city; for, besides immigration, an unusually large natural increase is swelling their number yearly.—*N. Y. Sun*, June 2, 1903.

ambassador is one that is credited by the habitu  of the Bowery, whose impecuniosity compels him to take his watch, or his jewels, to the custody of his "uncle" of the sign of the three balls. Shylock is accepted as a type by the great masses of Americans, perhaps, and tradesmen on Broadway utter the same lament that is in the mouth of the tradesmen of Kishineff.

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When the assassin's knife has been stayed, it becomes important, before we go further with this strange figure of history, to inquire into this well-nigh universal aversion against the Jew. What are the counts of the indictment, how far are they sustained, who is responsible for the offense, and how shall it be removed?

The commonest and most frequently voiced complaint against the Jew has been that aimed at his commercial instinct. We are often ignorantly guilty of the charge against him that he has always been a money handler, and have accepted Shylock as a true portrait. Making this charge, we exhibit our ignor-

ance of the history of Jews. Not only were they not originally traders, they were, on the other hand, peculiarly an agricultural and pastoral people. "As for ourselves," writes Josephus, their most eminent historian, "we neither inhabit a maritime country, nor do we delight in merchandise. . . . The cities we dwell in are remote from the sea, and, having a fruitful country for our habitation, we take pains to cultivate that only."

"Had Josephus been told," observes Weinstock, "that the Jews were to become a race of buyers and sellers, that in the ages to follow they would be found in every part of the globe engaged in trade, it would have seemed as improbable to him as it would seem to us were we told that in the future ages the Jews would again become exclusively an agricultural people." *

The Roman conquest, according to the same authority, was accountable for the transformation of the Jew from an agriculturist to a trader. By a long process of degradation to which he was sub-

* "Jesus the Jew," p. 211.

jected after the final destruction of Jerusalem he was driven from ownership of the land throughout the earth. "Bereft of the privilege of becoming an owner of the land, of the privilege of following the plow, of the privilege of entering the professions, or even of becoming an artisan, he was forced as a mark of degradation, against all his inclinations, against all his habits of national life, to become a hawker and a petty trader, and thus began what has since proved to be the most brilliant commercial development in the world's history." *

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If this remarkable figure of the ages is stamped with the mark of the gold coin, and has developed the instinct of the trader, should this condemn him? What is the service of the trader? Has civilization required him as a necessary factor to its progress? If this universal indictment of the Jew, in which Count Cassini joins, as a method of excusing a massacre that all humanity has condemned, were sustained in the court of inquiry that puts the Jew on

* "Jesus the Jew," p. 215.

trial as a candidate for equal rights among men, what answer shall he give? If the intelligence of civilization frames his answer, then it will not be to condemn him; it will be to assert that, so far as this charge is true, it is the exposition of the most remarkable traits of persistence and enterprise that the competitive struggles of past ages have ever displayed.

Let us remember to the point of reiteration, that this Jew became a trader out of conditions that had reduced him to abject poverty, and shut against him the gates of every other occupation. The trade that he does to-day has been built up in competition with all the sharp and powerful forces of the world. He began with the pedler's pack, wandering through the scattered communities, or standing by the wayside in the cities of the earth. In a few hundred years he was supporting thrones with his wealth, and was rich enough to be robbed by every people among whom he lived. In spite of all the inhibitions and prohibitions that have hedged him in, in spite of all the cruelties that have despoiled him, of all the

greeds that have fattened on his enterprise, of all the persecutions that have made his savings insecure, chiefly by this one aptitude, to which he was driven by the unnatural stress of his destiny, he has commanded the revenues of nations, and controlled the commerce of States, he has developed continents and promoted industries, and built up cities, and contributed to the growing opulence of all the civilized lands of the earth. "Jews," says Dr. K. Kohler, "have helped to rear almost all the great metropolitan centers of commerce, from Paris, London, and Cologne to Nuremburg, Augsburg and Kieff."

Jews started the tobacco trade in Cuba, and the sugar industry in Barbadoes, and the vanilla trade in Jamaica. Rabbi Herts, of Johannesburg, declares that in the interior of the Transvaal there is not a town "but owes to the Jews its foundation, or its early establishment as a trading or commercial center. From Bethulie to Bulawayo, from Pearl to Pretoria you will everywhere find the Jew the pioneer of industrial progress. . . The time will come when the services of a Depass to the whaling,

sealing and guano industries, of Mosenthal in establishing the wool and hide trades, of Andrade in establishing the ostrich feather industry, and of dozens of others, the town builders . . . will be honored . . .” *

It is not in the least necessary to argue the benefit of trade enterprise to a trading people like Americans or Britons. Nor would it be profitable here to discuss the competitive system that has displayed the enterprise of the Jew. Let it be conceded that competitive enterprise in trade is not the highest, certainly not the final virtue of a Christianized commerce. Thus far the most ardent socialist, the most enthusiastic communist, will be liable to admit that this economic order has not been displaced, and that, so long as it endures, the accumulation of private wealth by means of commercial enterprise is a laudable proceeding. If the American condemns the Jew in this connection, it will not be because the Jew trades, but because he beats his American or British or Russian competitor. It is not to be

* Quoted in Peters' "Justice to the Jew," p. 207.

assumed that he does this, except in a few lines, but if he were able to do it in all lines, the advocate of a free competitive system would have no ground for complaint. On his own theory success in commercial competition is a goal to be honorably aimed at, and the morality of the Jew who succeeds is the same with the morality of every other trader who attempts to succeed, by beating the other man.

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As a matter of fact the trade of the Jews, though a practical monopoly in some branches, is of narrow scope. The clothing trades are a conspicuous instance of Jewish enterprise. This may have grown from the original barter in second-hand garments, that went along with pack peddling. The trade in furs is nearly all in Jewish hands. Feathers and cognate articles have been mostly monopolized by them. In the trade in fancy articles, especially of apparel, Jews have achieved great success. In England they largely control the fruit trade, and in the cities of America many of the great department stores are in their hands.*

* Jewish Encyclopedia; article, "Commerce."

But it is as a broker and banker, lending money and trading in money, and the paper evidences of commercial exchange that the Jew has become most expert and achieved his greatest distinction.* All

* “Wirt Gerrare—in his ‘Greater Russia,’ (the Macmillan Co.)—writes this apposite paragraph:—

“‘As a political factor the Jew is of more importance than the Pole, the Mahommedan, or any seetarian in Russia; for behind the humble Israelite, within the pale, stands the international Jew financier, who, since Russia adopted the gold standard, has held the worldly fortune of all the Russians in the hollow of his hand.’

“This is so, not because of the gold standard in itself, but because Russia ‘does not know how to appeal to the foreign private investor.’ Both in her foreign loans and in her great business undertakings within the empire (the petroleum industry at Baku, for example, is substantially controlled by Jewish capital), Russia is painfully dependent upon the confidence and good will of the great Jewish bankers of Europe. When it comes to the pinch, the responsible governing men in the Russian government dare not violate the general sense of justice of those men who control the vast capital accumulated by European Jews. These great bankers constitute all the government that the Jews have; but this informal and unreeognized government is altogether strong enough, and doubtless willing enough, to see to it that Russia takes a tolerably proper course, in regard to her Jewish subjects, under penalty of certain definite and most unpleasant financial consequences.”—*Hartford Courant*, May 23, 1902.

the great money centers of the world save New York are to some extent controlled, and all of them are affected by the manipulation of wealthy Jews. One has but to name the Rothschilds, Pereires, Solomon Heine, to be reminded of the eminence of Jewish financiers, who have financed some of the great enterprises, public and private, of modern times. The United States alone among the nations has never had its finances controlled to any considerable extent by Jewish operators. If we admire and praise the financial genius of men like Morgan, who rise to vast wealth and power trading in "intangibles," we have no reason for regarding with suspicion or aversion, the Jewish money lender, even when he sits behind his three balls in the Bowery.

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The Jew lives chiefly in the city, and the city is the natural seat of trade. Statistics show that in proportion to the remaining population of the country, or even of the city, the number of Jews in trade is excessive. Whatever obloquy attaches to this count in the indictment he must assume, and

whatever credit attaches to a people who conduct honestly the commerce of cities, states and nations, he may properly claim.

Nevertheless, trader though he may be, it is not to be assumed that the wealth of any nation is to any great extent in the hands of Jews. There are wealthy money lenders among them, and men of opulence in their commerce, but Jews are on the whole extremely poor. Contrasting the Jewish trader with the Russian "kulak" (usurer), Boleslaw Lenski says in "Dielo," a Russian newspaper:

"Whereas the Russian 'kulak' is actuated by greed, to the Jew poverty is the only reason. The 'kulak' grows rich; the Jewish 'exploiter' remains in the same poverty-stricken condition. There is, and no one will be able to deny the statement, a vast difference between the one who carries on his trade only because of rapaciousness, notwithstanding his well-filled stomach, and the unfortunate wretch whose only desire is to still his hunger. And that many of the Jewish 'exploiters' vegetate in semi-starvation is an uncontradictable fact. Those acquainted with the cities of Lithuania and White Russia know very well the full significance of Jewish poverty. Particularly miserable is the condition

of those small people and workmen who do not possess houses of their own. Looking at their poor, small, dirty shanties, one would hardly believe that human beings live in them. The first peasant family one comes across lives more comfortably and better. The food partaken of by the Jews is exceptionally poor. A pound of bread, a herring and a couple of onions constitute the daily meals of a family numbering from six to eight persons. . . . Amongst the numerous risky undertakings in which the Jews engage there will be found many which not only yield him no profit, but actually cause him losses, and, consequently, cannot be looked upon as exploitations." *

Nor would a survey of other lands indicate that the Jews as a class have monopolized the wealth in excessive proportion. The contrasts apparent in the most cursory survey of conditions in New York City between the great wealth of a few well-known Jews and the squalor and poverty of the great East Side would convince the observer that, even in this land, Jews share the mutations of fortune with other classes. Hapgood, in his "Spirit of the Ghetto," draws a most pathetic picture of the poverty of vari-

* Quoted by I. L. Bril, in *Jewish World*, May 24, 1903.

ous men of talent and education among the immigrants who have come here from other lands. A visit to the sweat shops where Russian and Austrian Jews make the clothing for the New York dealer, and for a great part of the country, would relieve the mind of the idea that these Hebrews are suffering from fat opulence. And of the 600,000 of them in New York City one would safely estimate that ninety-five per cent. live from the hard labor of the worker, and that of this number the great majority exist in conditions that the average American would consider intolerable.

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To the intolerance of past ages the answer of the Jew has been his voluntary assumption that he is a peculiar people. It may not perhaps be denied that he has met intolerance with an assertion of his exclusive privileges as a favorite with God. If the Christian would be a Christian, quite as strenuously the Jew would be a Jew. Men of past generations have not been engaged in ascertaining their agreements but in enforcing their differences, and it has

happened in this process that the original religious exclusiveness of the Jew, that saved him in his ancient history from the abominations of idolatrous degeneracy, in the Christian ages has separated him both from the paganism of the creeds and from the ameliorating realities of the better forms of Christianity.

The complaint, however, that the Jew is peculiar and a separatist may not be urged with too great unction by those who have assigned to him the place of a heretic and accused him of crucifying the Lord. It is the Christian who in past ages has insisted on the separation quite as certainly as the Jew. The difference has chiefly been that the Christian has had the power of majorities and has been able to fix upon the Jew this charge. One has the instinct to wish that the Jew may have proved more tolerant and less cruel if he had been in the seats of power and the Christian had been in his place. At all events, the Jew holds, to a great extent, the place to which Christian intolerance of his religion has assigned him. He has not been converted, neither

by the argument of Christian scholars nor by the sword of the Christian persecutor. He is still a Jew.

The most casual review of the history of the long conflict ought to apprise the intelligent men of the present day that attempts to convert Jews to ecclesiastical Christianity are unprofitable.* Still less to be commended is the spirit that condemns the religious faith of the Jew and keeps him excluded on its account. In this day of religious progress, when we have seriously begun the inquiry for a universal

* "If we were asked why we remain Jews, we could but answer that we cannot honestly and consistently become anything else. It is true that many of us have been indifferent to our belief; that many of us have taken little or no interest in spiritual affairs; that many of us are merely a race of Jews rather than observers of the Jewish religion; yet I am sure that, as a rule, if pressure were brought to bear upon us to join another faith, our interest in our own faith would immediately become aroused, and we should study it as we had never studied it before. Such study would bring out to us, as it has never before been brought out, that all that is claimed for other religions we find in our own. . . . No other religion can sufficiently appeal to the Jew to lead him, from conviction, to change his belief."—Weinstock "Jesus the Jew," pp. 120, 124.

religion, it will be far more to the point to ask how far the Jew and the Christian agree, and what is the contribution which the Jew will be able to make to the religion of the future time.

If we are to insist that the Jew is to be counted heretic and held alien from Christian communion until he gives some formal acknowledgment that Jesus of Nazareth was and is the promised Messiah in very person, then the long history of the Christian ages has been read by us in vain; and we fail to understand that that question has lost all its point in our day, and is no longer of any consequence either to the Christian or the Jew.

It is time for the Christian populations of free countries, where the persecuting spirit is no longer commended, to note that the Jew is not chiefly responsible for his isolation. He may not be ready to call himself a Christian, with what that generally means to him, and he has his prejudices and his peculiarities. But he is a creature by himself to-day, living a peculiar and isolated existence, largely because he is shut out from many departments of

life and from many circles of men by the prejudice brought down from past times. It is a matter of common observation that the Jew will go with the Gentile wherever he is made welcome. The liberal and progressive men of all sects who have begun to make friends with Jews find them responsive. An acute observer of East Side conditions, learned by actual work among the Yiddish-speaking populations, recently remarked upon the common ambition of many Jewesses to marry Christian young men and of many Jewish young men to marry into Christian families. This observer attributed this predilection to the increasing intelligence of Jews as to the desirability of entering better society. In the free atmosphere of America the exclusiveness of Jews is breaking down,* and they are meeting the

*“Jew and Christian have been necessary to each other. One without the other could not have achieved the wondrous work which both have performed in the interest and for the welfare of humanity. . . . The Christian owes much to the Jew, the Jew owes much to the Christian. Let each fully and deeply recognize the debt he owes to the other.”—Weinstock, “Jesus the Jew,” pp. 71-72.

increasing tolerance of American society with ample response.

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The decreasing emphasis placed upon religious orthodoxy and the growing interest of man in the practical realities of life make it certain that the wall of separation between Jews and Gentiles will presently be broken down. The basal need and interest of man are common. We all eat and drink and wear clothing, and we all must die. On the level of these common necessities, and a common earthly lot for man, how small and puerile are the greater number of the things about which we quarrel. The decaying dust, separated in consecrated graveyards, as worthless as any other dust, still marks the trivial interest of men in things that do not matter. Shibboleth and sibboleth provoke us to a controversy, and we heat into passion over academic issues, and dignify our opinionated stock of ideas with the aspect of principles to be fiercely contended for. *Filioque* divided Christendom into two

great camps, and the lines of variance remain to the present day.

But practical men, busy with getting something to eat and pursuing the realities of existence, turn aside no more to press these trivial issues. With them, for all vital relations and purposes, the modern man shelves the cliques and orders that promote these differences and goes on his way, buying, selling and increasing the friendly intercourse that trade and society promote. In this way Jew and Gentile, in the marts of trade and in the common walks of life, if the conditions be free and governments just, rapidly come together and lose the antagonism and find out by the impact of actual association that "God hath made of one blood all the nations of men." Liberal-minded men are learning that a man is neither better nor worse for the historic label he has borne, and that to call a man a Jew does not tell us any more about his character and the chances of finding him good or bad than the label "American" signifies exact moral values. In either case the practical man takes the individual

and deals with him on the basis of those common human values that at last certify all men as members of the common brotherhood of man.

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The Jews are not found in our prisons; they are not paupers in our almshouses; they do not to a large extent furnish the prostitutes of our streets. They are orderly in their conduct, even under innumerable provocations. The police often have to protect the Jew, but they rarely are obliged to protect any one from the Jew. Drunkenness and rioting are not among his much practised vices. He does not fill the divorce courts, and he does not support the litigation of the chancery. What he buys he pays the price agreed for, and as a rule he pays it when he buys it.

Regarded as a citizen, these virtues of the Jew are significant. They are virtues that mean safety and prosperity for the commonwealth, where orderly regard for law, and obedience to law, constitute the security of the people.

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The Russian ambassador at Washington, excusing the Kishineff horror, asserts that the Jews do not take kindly to agriculture. That they are no longer extensively an agricultural people is indeed true, but so far as Russia is concerned this cannot be laid to the blame of the Jews. Dr. Cyrus Adler reminds the ambassador that: "In 1890 there were more than 100,000 Jews in Russia engaged in agriculture, the larger portion of them being in Southern Russia. It is true that the tendency toward agriculture on the part of the Jews in Russia has been arrested, but this has not been seen since 1891, when the May laws of 1882 put a stop to the migration of the Jewish inhabitants of towns into the villages. It is not generous for a country to prevent Jews from living in an agricultural community, and then blame them for not being farmers. In 1889 there were 278 Jewish agricultural colonies in Russia, upon which were employed 63,223 people." *

"Russian Jew haters . . . point to the failure of the Jewish colonies established by Nicholas

* Press despatch, May 21.

in the south of Russia. These, however, were hampered by the absurd condition that each plot of land should be owned in perpetuity by two families conjointly, and by the moral, material and physical difficulties put in the way of the colonists at their first settlement. A government inspector reported very favorably upon them as late as 1880, and remarked that he saw no signs of incapacity for an agricultural life among the Jewish colonists.” *

It is well known that the Jewish colonies of agriculturalists in the United States have prospered. No instances of failure have been reported. The city habit doubtless fixes itself upon Jews as it does upon any class that have been long accustomed to the city. One would not expect the clerks and clothing merchants of New York, of any nationality, to initiate a movement to migrate and begin farming. The disinclination to pursue agriculture is probably not greater among Jews than among any other class who have been brought up from childhood in cities or who

* Jacobs' "Persecution of the Jews in Russia," p. 26.

inherit the traits and customs of generations of traders.


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To those who are searching for defects, the Jew will be found to have them. But when the authorities of Russia begin to give reasons for persecuting the Jew or for driving him out of that empire the intelligence of the world is thereby set to the drawing of the comparison between the Jew and the great mass of the Czar's subjects, and when that process is completed the verdict is unfavorable to the Slav. The belief is widespread that Russia wants them out of her borders, not on account of their vices but on account of their virtues. They are a flashlight, and while it burns in the Slavic darkness it must perforce illuminate and expose the barbaric conditions that make Russia anachronistic among the nations of Europe. They are a ferment, and ferment means at last the end of the despotic rule. In a free land nothing is so welcome as ferment, because there is no one who wishes to sit on the valve. But in Russia the entire bulk of the aris-

toocracy, the whole political weight, finds it necessary to sit on the valve. Ferment in Russia forebodes explosion. Russia's peace and security, for the brutal powers that govern her, is in preventing ferment, and one necessary measure to that end is the suppression of the Jews. A question that concerns mankind is the question whether Russia shall be allowed to pursue this policy unhindered by the other powers of the earth. National darkness, when it is allied with the brutal strength of numbers and managed by the diplomacy of oriental mediævalism, is a menace to democracy and a shadow on the map. Shall the world permit this shadow to remain? Shall the world permit it to enlarge?

Chapter V

When He Comes to America —— ?

N but two countries of the world does the number of Jews exceed those settled in the United States. Russia leads the list with 5,700,000 Jews. Austria-Hungary has 1,866,873; the United States, 1,045,555. Germany comes fourth, with scarcely more than half as many Jews as are in this country (567,834). Of the Jews in the United States about 600,000 live in the city of New York. This is to say that New York is not only the largest Jewish city on earth, but, except ancient Jerusalem alone, the largest that ever existed. It is worth while, in view of a fact so surprising, not to say startling, for the American to consider what such a statement signifies.

Were the Jewish male residents of legal age naturalized * they would control the balance of power

* "All the Jews look forward to becoming American citizens and to establishing their homes in this country."—*N. Y. Sun*, June 2, 1903.

in New York City. In every presidential election for several decades that number of voters—at least a hundred thousand—located in New York City would have determined the presidency. The mere question of naturalizing the possible voters of Jewish blood is one that possibly affects the future of the entire nation. With what concern should the student of our democratic institutions, who wishes to preserve and purify them, consider the moral and intellectual status of this possible balance of power! Politically considered, Mr. Hay's concern as to the effect of Russian policy with the Jew is far-seeing and patriotic. He has remembered that more than five-sixths of this vast aggregation of refugees has sought these shores since the outbreaks against Jews that disgraced the Russian Empire in 1881. Kishineff is the signal for a universal panic of fear among the Jews of Russia, and before the news is a month old, already * Jews fleeing from the blood-stained city have landed in New York. The relief funds collected and collecting for the homeless and be-

* June 1, 1903.

reaved survivors will be freely used to defray their passage to a land where the flashing shadow of the assassin's knife no longer terrifies their hearts. It would not be astonishing to those who have studied the situation to learn, a year or two hence, that another hundred thousand refugees from Russia have been added to the Ghetto that lies between the Bowery and the river, to begin life anew in a land of juster laws and freer air.

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Of the Jews who came to New York prior to 1881 a very large per cent. were German Jews, and belonged to the more intelligent and well-to-do elements. From the view point of the sociologist, as well as from that of the citizen and patriot, this earlier element was a far more desirable type. The later comers bring with them poverty and the squalid aspect and more or less filthy habits of the Russian peasantry where they have lived. When they arrive, if they retain any religion at all, it is the exclusive and orthodox religion. The reformed and more liberal faith of many of the German Jews is

not quickly adopted by the Jews from Russia. "The traditions and customs of the orthodox Jew are maintained almost in their purity, and opposed to these are the forms and ideas of modern life of the most extreme kind. The Jews are at once tenacious of their character and susceptible to their Gentile environment when that environment is of a high order of civilization. . . . When the Jew comes to America he remains, if he is old, essentially the same as he was in Russia. . . . He remains the patriarchal Jew, devoted to the law and to prayer. He never does anything that is not prescribed, and worships most of the time when he is not at work. He has only one point of view—that of the Talmud—and his æsthetic as well as his religious criteria are determined by it. . . . He makes of his house a synagogue and prays three times a day; when he prays his head is covered, he wears a black and white praying shawl and the cubes of the phylactery are attached to his forehead and left arm." * The author from whom I have quoted describes at length

* Hapgood, "Spirit of the Ghetto" (Funk & Wagnalls Co.), pp. 9, 10, 13.

the ceremonial orthodoxy of the immigrant, "highly trained and educated in a narrow sectarian direction, but entirely ignorant of modern culture, mediæval in effect, submerged in old tradition and outworn forms." * This author also remarks upon the formative influences that surround the younger portion of them. The first is the orthodox Jewish religious element, in which he is trained by strict home discipline. But in the school and the street he meets American life that straightway begins to modify his whole outlook. New hopes spring up in him, new ideas percolate through the old crust of his home influence. Yet farther, he comes speedily in contact with the reactionary forces of the socialism and atheism that many of the more intelligent Russians have imbibed from the Russian literature of men like Tolstoi. Amid these influences the Jew under forty does not long remain the creature he is when he leaves the fetid airs of his Russian city. He begins to broaden, and in him presently you shall find the beginning of the future American.

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* Hapgood, "Spirit of the Ghetto," p. 17.

Americans should quickly understand that the question "What shall we do with the Jew?" is absurd. Russia has to ask that question because it is of the genius of despotic and paternal government to assign to one man the regulation of another man's business, and the ordering of another man's life. Russia has to ask that question because Russia exists only by virtue of her monarchical assumption. The doctrine of self-government is crucified in Russia. Its advocates are sent to Siberia or to the scaffold. Russia, comprising for governing purposes a Czar and an aristocracy of nobles, arrogates to the governing class the sole right to ask, "What shall we do with the remainder of the people?" It is to be regretted that there are not a few Americans who suppose that somebody somewhere has a similar right in America to ask "What shall we do with the Jews?" Under our theory of government, and in so far as we live up to it, we have no more right to ask that question than the Ghetto would have to ask what shall be done with the American people. There is no Jewish question in America, and inside our proper scheme of government there never can be.

But if the question should take the form of the query as to what policy the earlier immigrant, from England and the four quarters of the earth, during four hundred years of annual arrival, shall pursue toward the later immigrant from Kieff and Kishineff the answer cannot be doubtful. Apply to him the equal laws of the commonwealth and of the nation, and then let him alone. Treat his filth, if he is filthy, as you treat all filth wherever it becomes subject to sanitary or penal law. If other children may not work in sweat shops, neither shall his. If the American of longer stay, whose name may be Patrick or Francois, must send his children to the American school, so must the immigrant who happens to be named Pobodonetsikisokitaki. He shall not insist that we pronounce his name, even if our school laws provide that he must learn to spell it.

The American, as such, cannot adopt the Russian theory that one man may regulate another man's affairs. The contrary principle has been established as American by the blood that first was shed to enforce the denial as against the British monarchy, that tried

to regulate the lives of a people beyond the sea. It was defended again in terms of blood to demonstrate that a white man must not any longer control the life of a black man. And it was asserted to the amazement and admiration of the world when, in behalf of the principle, we applied the argument to Spain, and compelled her to abandon her external control of the Cuban Island and empowered the Cubans to govern themselves.

But there is, and always is liable to be, an existent exception to the operation of this principle. If we were to ask again, What is to be done with the Jew? we could justify ourselves entirely as a democracy by answering that his weakness is an appeal to our philanthropy, and while we may not interfere to regulate his affairs we may interfere to assist him to self-government. As Americans we could not assert any lower intention for the Philippine Islands without a stultification of our history. And toward the Jew, whether in America or in Russia, this measure of interference is wholly American.

So far as the Jews in this country are concerned,

even this question is not at issue. The Jews of New York, under the equal laws of the commonwealth, are in fact taking care of themselves. Thus far, with the mass of them existence is precarious, but the swarm of Ghetto dwellers, from the first, fare better than in the cities which they leave behind them in Russia. True, the picture painted, in the contrast it exhibits to the American ideal of existence, is dismal even in its picturesqueness. "On Hester Street, east of the Bowery," says Hapgood, "the poor Jew is revealed in many a characteristic way. It is the home of the sweat shop, of the crowded tenement house. Old pedlars, as ragged as the poorest beggars, stand at the street corners. In long uninterrupted lines are the carts containing fruit, cake, dry goods, fish, everything that the proletarian Jew requires. Behind these tower the crowded tenement houses, with fire escapes for balconies. Through the middle of the street constantly moves a mass of people. No vehicle can go rapidly there for the thoroughfare is literally alive. . . Just as Canal Street, with its cafes where the poets, scholars, socialists and journalists

meet, is the mind of the Ghetto, so Hester Street represents its heart.” *

But these pictures of the push-cart and the tenement house are not symbols of stagnancy and poverty primarily. They are far more the signs of life. The Ghetto is a vast hive swarming with beings who feel, instantly they begin to breathe American air, the ambition to improve their condition. They resist the demand of our laws that their children shall be kept out of the sweat shop, because it prevents them from sharing the untiring industry of the family. Desiring to work, and to earn, a ten-hour law is an abomination to the Russian Jew, who counts it a privilege to have a free chance to work seventeen hours, and be paid for them all; and then not to be robbed of them by the Gentile, as he has been in the land from which he came. The push-cart is an unsightly thing when it stands in endless rows in Hester Street, but it means that the Jew is getting his own living. It means that his children will move out to the Bowery and sell clothing, and furniture, and jewels, and furs

* “Spirit of the Ghetto,” p. 254.

from stores of their own. It means that these swarming Jews are conducting, now in sweat shops, and a little later will be carrying on in the improved conditions which the sanitary laws of our city will demand, the vast business of clothing millions of Americans, and are building up the future wealth of the city and the land. They do it with the same energy, and the same persistence, that has everywhere made this people the successful wealth-getters of other lands. As they go on, and catch more and more the spirit of this land, more and more will they come out of the Ghetto, and sing their song of toil in the better conditions of life with which the American example and American laws will surround them.

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Consider how little there is to hinder this Israelite of the Ghetto from becoming a valuable and loyal citizen of America. Coming here in poverty he may seem to us for the moment a wholly undesirable asset. Certainly those who assert that he is such have not considered well the question. It would help all such to remember that the Jew alone leaves no

country behind him. He has never been a citizen of Russia, and he is a Russian only as a convenience of designating him among our immigrants.

The Frenchman has his French league, the Scotchman his clan, the German his Fatherland, and the Chinaman hopes not to die on this soil. We have Irish leagues, and Italian leagues, and Spanish leagues, all of them representing various ties of country to which our foreigner of the first generation looks back, more or less like the children of the Exodus at the flesh pots of Egypt. But the Russian Jew has gladly burned all his bridges behind him. When the shores of Russia faded from his view, and he turned his tired and blood-stained face toward the shores of this new world, the refugee from Kishineff became an American. Behind him is only the black dream of cruelty, oppression and fear. As the sword flamed of old before the gates of Eden, so flashes the sword of persecution and banishment in the eyes of the Jew, when he glances over his shoulder on his journey to the promised land. There is behind him the smoke cloud against the sky above

his burning hovel, there is the sound of a voice in his ears that but hastens his steps with the terror it inspires. And when he has found safety where the earth and the sky are free to him, and the airs of liberty caress his face, who shall hinder him from beginning to love the institutions that shelter him, and the flag that stands for that equality among men which he never has enjoyed before? Let us consider what it may some day mean to the United States to have within our borders a people who are attached by no tie to a foreign land, but who have for the first time in their lives found a country of their own, where they have the same power of kings and rulers that is shared by the other individual sovereigns who make up the great self-governing people of America. And if the fortunes of future events should make it necessary for us to teach justice to Russia by the thundering of our fleets at her Pacific and Atlantic gates, there will be some soldiers, and some sailors too, assisting in the process, who will remember the streets of Kishineff, and the old days of their persecutions.

So far as love of free institutions is concerned, the average immigrant from Europe in more recent times has not felt very strongly in a reaction against European monarchy. America means to the ordinary emigrant opportunity to improve his conditions. He escapes pauperism, and begins to accumulate wealth when he comes to the United States. This is the point of his desire, and on this account he is liable to feel well satisfied with our institutions. But so far as the standing of his citizenship is concerned, the average immigrant has not felt himself a sufferer from special inequalities, and class laws, above and beyond the general hard conditions that lie in the path of every other proletariat in his country. The average immigrant does not, therefore, conceive any hatred for the land from which he comes, nor does he feel the force of the contrast between his treatment here and there. He has never been singled out for oppression. The German immigrant had as much freedom at home as any other of the poor men around him. The Italian is not an alien from his

native land because his government has mistreated him, but because he was very poor.

Quite contrary to this is the contrast felt by the Russian Jew when he has escaped the Russian Pale of Settlement. It is a contrast that must soon assure him of the tremendous difference between a land of democracy and a land of despotism. He, of all our immigrants, as he is enlightened by a little experience, is prepared to feel the value and significance of American institutions. Set against his horrible background of Kishineff and the Pale, even his Ghetto becomes an Eden of refuge, and America his land of promise. And though he may not know it himself all in an instant, and may be slow to erect his Americanism above his Judaism, he has become, nevertheless, an American, and whenever anywhere the threat of oppression lowers in the sky, he will be spurred by all his memories of Russia to interpose his fortune and his life lest the blackness of his past be repeated or imitated. There is no other type of immigrant on American soil to-day who has such powerful reasons

for being a patriot as this man at the push-cart in the swirl of the Ghetto.

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It has been frequently observed by political economists that the stability of a State depends very greatly upon a wide distribution of proprietorship. It has been pointed out by many writers, especially during these more modern struggles that mark the growth of socialism, that there is danger in a non-owning population. A proprietor of goods, an owner of visible wealth, is usually a defender of the present order. Implicate a man's possessions in the fortunes of the commonwealth, and you have created a powerful reason for making him a defender of the civil establishment. This is a truism established by the experience of history.

Let us consider in the light of it what it means that the Jewish immigrant saves his money, buys houses, accumulates a stock of goods—even though to-day he may carry them all in a push-cart. Every push-cart is a proprietorship, and when it is owned by a dweller in the Ghetto, it is a sign to the American patriot,

looking anxiously at the gathering forces of internal unrest, that here in the heart of America's vast metropolis, is building a bulwark against civil disorder, against anarchy for the State, against every disturbance that could threaten the accumulation and possession of the wealth that, beginning with the push-cart, will by and by be piled in the great department store, the great clothing factory, the great emporium of jewels and precious stones, the great warehouses of furs and feathers and fruits and fancy goods that will be owned by Jews, and that will impel them by the strongest material motives that move the heart of man to resist the destruction of government, and to defend the integrity of the commonwealth. The Jew is an owner, and he is therefore a law keeper, a champion of peace, an enemy of disorder.

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Millions of money have been sent into our Southern States since the reconstruction days to educate the freedman. His illiteracy is a generally acknowledged menace to our free institutions, and has thus

far left him a victim of conditions that every American deplores. If the traditions and training of the negro, in the long past of his degradation under the white man's ownership could be reversed, to make of him a being eager to rise, and quick with intelligence to secure an education, the United States would thus be rid at once of the appalling problem of the ex-slave.

But this national instance may be considered as a background of contrast when we turn to consider the traits and tendencies and prospects of the immigrant Jew. No special philanthropies will ever be required to educate the children of the Ghetto. From the first they swarm to our public schools to overcrowding. There is no slowness about the initiative of a Hebrew lad in learning to read and write. If he comes in the first day in bare feet and with a dirty face, when a week has gone by he manages to come in shoes and with his hair neatly parted. The roomy and well-appointed schoolroom, where he sees pictures on the walls, and frescoes on the ceiling, begins that moment his education away from

the stench of the Ghetto and the fumes of the sweat shop. This wonderful New York, that gives him his first sight and smell of green grass in the parks, and of freedom in the air—he will never react from it. He is of another generation from the Yiddish-speaking family in the tenement, and even will lift them up a little as he carries home with him the book that the city put into his hands *gratis*, and the story of the palace where he is to be taught the meaning of its mysterious English symbols.

Behind this Hebrew lad, with his bare feet, or his wooden shoes, with his bright black eyes and Abrahamic gravity, lie four thousand years of Hebrew intelligence. You do not have to force an education upon him. Booker T. Washington hopes for a time when even negroes will desire an education—here is a people ready to our hand who will have one without any prophet to lead them. The American school, forming the impact, and the Hebrew mind a matrix historically receptive to ideas, constitute a possible scholarship * that in another generation will furnish

* “He cannot lower your standard of life, because he has the power of following you even to the utmost heights of culture.

the literary and professional ranks, and, better yet, the classes of artisans and merchants, with recruits from these walks of the Ghetto.

The American schools, where this Yiddish-speaking boy begins to learn English, has a Longfellow day, an Emerson day, a Bryant day. It has songs about Washington, and poems about Lincoln, and And that he has the will to do so is evident to all who have watched the Russian Jew after his arrival in this country. See with what ardor he invades our schools, colleges and universities. Already the City College of New York is known as the Jews' College, and that not only on account of the number but also of the pre-eminence of the Russian Jewish pupils. For every American laboring man who sends his son to college you can find ten Russian Jews who drudge that their children may attain a higher life. No class of citizens makes half the sacrifice that does the Russian Jew for the sake of education. What fear, then, that such a people can lower the standard of living. Much rather do they infuse into the commonwealth a new energy. Having suffered oppression for century after century, he, of all peoples, knows how to cherish those ideals which are greater than the wealth of nations. Admit him to this land, and his progeny, fitted for its task by the bitter discipline of ages, will prove the ever-vigilant guardian of liberty and humanity against the blight of commercialism and indifference. Give the weary fugitive time to rest his limbs, and he will begin a work for which the nations shall hail him as the modern Apostle to the Gentiles."—S. Wolmann.

reading lessons about Franklin, and Jefferson, and Webster and McKinley. It is not long before these names, and at least small percolating streams of history that they represent, begins to enter the mind, and transform this Jew into an American. The flag that he carries home from the school he will hang in the narrow window of the tenement, though it be but a hole in a wall that overlooks the air shaft. These historic names will presently mingle with the revered name of Moses, with the name of Solomon, David, Isaiah, and though the Ghetto will not presently lose the push-cart, the push-cart will be decorated with flags on the Fourth of July, and the Ghetto will celebrate the great events of American history. Persistent as is the cultus of the Hebrew, there is no people more mobile and adaptable in receiving and using the advantageous elements of their surroundings. Thus the political economist, looking along the row of push-carts, will need but some intuitive vision-power to read the future, to discern there elements of great strength, that are swiftly being woven into the fabric of American life.

A measure of self-protection is properly provided by our immigration laws against undesirable arrivals. It is significant that we have never had occasion to apply them as against the Jew. To a slight extent by the philanthropy of wealthy Hebrews,* but usually because he could show savings, and a capacity for self-support, the Jews who have come here have demonstrated their right to be here. If we farther restrict immigration, it will be along lines that will exclude almost every other class before it touches the Jew. If literacy were required, they can very largely read and write. Even if literacy in English were required, it would not long keep them out. If thrift, the possession of the means to live, evidences of orderly character and freedom from criminal records be demanded, what other class of immigrants would be so generally eligible as the Jews?

Russia as a despotism that has never known a

* Arriving immigrants are met by a special representative of the United Hebrew Charities of New York, and cared for as their needs require. For a statement of the manner in which Jews care for dependents see "Jewish Encyclopedia," article "Charity."

policy of human justice acts only in accordance with her fundamental theory when she oppresses the Jew. Russia has the same right to expel the Jew that she has to be a despotism. Not recognizing the common rights of man, she has the power to single out any class for proscription, and exercises that power as a right of government. This inheres in the claim of a ruling class to govern the masses of the people. It inheres in the traditional liking of the masses of the ignorant common people to be governed by a ruling class. But the United States, if it should shut out any class of men because they belonged to a class, or had certain race affinities, would stultify her fundamental idea. The Chinese exclusion act does in fact stultify our fundamental idea, and is a precedent full of danger. We cannot afford to extend that precedent to cover Russian Jews. We have no more right to exclude a Chinaman or a Jew because he is a Chinaman or a Jew than Russia has to expel them. A general immigration law, applied impartially to all comers, is perfectly democratic, under which Jews and Gentiles should be included or excluded. Be-

yond that, this government would be upon the dangerous ground of the denial of human equality—of democracy, that demands fair play and no favors for every class of men.

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Humanity intervenes to assist justice, when crises arise that require right action among men. In the great generous heart of America abides a real sentiment of humane brotherhood, in the face of which Kishineff becomes a horror that moves all classes to protest. It is this sentiment of humanity in the United States that makes it certain, beyond all material considerations, that our gates will not be shut against the refugee. There is room for the Jew in New York—even more, there is room for him on the soil of prairies and hill slopes, on God's free land that is denied to him in Russia. No Jew, independent in his religion and democratic in his instincts, could ever be a good citizen of the present Russia. The Czar knows that. The aristocracy, ruling mobs and robbing the people, know it. But the Jew can be a citizen of the United States. It is a government

founded on the traditional and historical civilizations that have for their foundations the ethical forces of the Old Testament, the book of the Jew. The Puritan life of England, as Macaulay correctly has observed, derived all its august virtue from the Hebrew Book. New England ideals, and the Dutch ideals of the middle American colonists, agreed in this approximation to the ethical strictness and high morality of the old Hebrew commonwealth. Here, as nowhere else on earth, are the elements that make familiar forces to the Jew. Here, in his religion, in his morality, in his democracy, the Jew cannot be a stranger. And if he comes here, fleeing from the horror chamber where he has so long walked, to escape the last persecutions that should close his history of suffering and blood, surely the American will open the door, and reach out the hand, and speak the word of welcome. Our new boast of brotherhood, that yet has but begun to be brotherhood in fact, a force strong enough, however, to set free four million slaves, will come to practical realization, when we have made the Jew a welcome citizen of this greatest of all republics.

Chapter VI

What Shall Christians Do?



WHEN in 1893 the World's Parliament of Religions dissolved after its meetings in Chicago, both the unity and the divergencies of the great historic religions had evidently been made more apparent. Those who seemed to find in this Parliament a demonstration of the unity of all the religions, were reminded frequently, in the subsequent years, that this aspect was foremost chiefly because at that gathering all the religions were set forth in their most favorable, and, on the whole, in their most nearly universal features. What was discovered was really this: that in the fundamental elements, in the most spiritual, and most ethical features, all religions agree. The divergencies appear proportionately as we reach out to the formularies, the materialistic and ceremonial adjuncts and requirements. In the ecclesiastical ad-

ministration of religions, in creeds, ceremonials, the metaphysics, and the rituals, and the establishments, unity or uniformity is accidental, and we do not look for it as an extensive and customary phenomenon.

The Jew and the Christian come together where all forms of true religion meet and assimilate, and conversely the Jew and the Christian diverge, in the formal and practical administration of religion, in the same manner as all the divergent faiths divide. While many of the divergences are extremely important as related to many human interests, there is nothing in the differences between the Jew and the Christian to-day, that could warrant for an instant the hostility that former times displayed. On the one hand the Jew, wherever he has risen to the level of a liberal and charitable intelligence about the Christian, would not claim that it is really the religion of the Christian that has persecuted him, but a perversion and contradiction of true religion; on the other hand the Christian, equally enlightened, would no longer be

insistent to claim that it was the religion of the Jew that crucified Jesus Christ, but wholly a perversion and contradiction of his religion.*

Such concessions as these would be only another way of saying that persecutions, and hatreds, and divisions, and strifes, have always been through the attack or defense of forms of administration, or of metaphysics of creed, or of ceremonial requirements, or ecclesiastical establishments. And as to these, the Jew would be obliged to confess that his strenuousness and bigotry have operated on the one side, equally with the arrogance and superstition of the Christian on the other, to perpetuate the existence of the wall of partition between them.

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It would be absolutely profitless to discuss the

* "The savage and cruel persecutions carried on in the name of Jesus, to which for hundreds of years the Jew was subjected, are deplored by none more than by the intelligent Christian himself, who looks upon the record of priestly crime and bloodshed, of religious torture and outrage, as a blot on the fair name of the religion taught by Jesus, since called Christianity, and a stain on the memory of the gentle Nazarene, since called the Savior."
—Weinstock, "Jesus the Jew," p. 24.

value of the causes of conflict in the ages that are past. To the men of our own day, the idea of burning Jews at the stake because they refused the formula of ecclesiastical baptism is incomprehensible. Our intelligence refuses to assent to the frequent, thoughtlessly uttered statement that these things arose out of religious sources. If they are to be explained at all, covered though they were under the name of religious faith, they indicate how little real religion had been able to do to cleanse and soften the savage and vile dispositions of men, in the ages when they occurred. They are a testimony to the beastlike elements in man, and to the innate sin which he harbors in his nature, that neither Christianity nor Judaism has thus far been able to eradicate. And though, perhaps, if a balance were struck, the Jews could show a greater freedom from the outbreaks of this beastlike nature, it might be said that there never has been added to his native possibilities the power, and the pride of power, that furnished the dominant Christian with his opportunity to persecute. We have

had no large opportunity, in modern times, to determine what Jews might have done had they filled the thrones of empire, and constituted the majorities of States.

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All the Jews of the world number about ten millions. If the Christians, who may be classed as such, number two hundred millions, their proportion is as twenty to one. By the bare fact of being the overwhelming majority, the responsibility for initiative, in closing this chasm of the ages between the Christian and the Jew, rests with Christendom.

The first step in that process should be such an explication of Christianity as would remove from the apprehension of the Jew his prejudice against it. Thus far, through all these ages, Christendom has invited the Jew to a dinner of husks, and the Jew has always been intelligent enough to know that it was a dinner of husks. It is difficult for the most discerning and discriminating of historians, to discover and state the underlying realities that were

hidden beneath the ecclesiastical and ceremonial Christianity that the Jews have been invited to accept. Even at the point of the sword, the most intelligent of them had difficulty in relishing the abominations and the mysteries that were presented to them as Christianity. Many Jews died in the flames of the *auto de fé*, or under the sword, or on the rack, through inability to understand the identity of one with three or the mystery of the real presence of Christ in the eucharist. The alternative between the Nicean creed and the executioner, between Athanasius and Torquemada, was offered to Jews, who frequently chose death as published enemies of the Christ who was represented neither by Athanasius nor by Torquemada, nor yet by the vast ecclesiastical tyranny that sent Jews to the stake during long ages of persecution.

All this is a sign how Jesus, in whose name Christianity exists, was misread and misunderstood. But we are not to think that with the persecutions of former times, the misunderstanding and misrepresentation of Christianity have disappeared. It is

undeniable that even to-day, the first and most prominent aspect of the Christian religion that a Jew would be likely to come upon is the aspect of a great, mechanical, ecclesiastical establishment. The most common method proposed by Christians for abolishing the difference between the Christian and the Jew, would be that of inviting or requiring the Jew to join himself to the establishment. There is a very large element known as Christian that still believe that the solution of the Jewish problem, so far as it is a religious problem, is to be reached by assimilating the Jew—swallowing him up, in fact. We still hear about the present and future “conquests” of Christianity, by which is commonly meant the conversion of those of other names to the Christian name. We thereby constantly assume that the divergence, prior to that process, is radical and separative. We also thereby emphasize the difference, by the urgency of the assumption. Great numbers of men see no solution of the religious problem of the Jew while he still remains a Jew.

With those denominations of Christians in which

greater emphasis is placed on the logic and metaphysics of the creeds, a similar view obtains. With such it is supposed that the Jew and Christian can only come together by some assent on the part of the Jew to the statements of faith held and prescribed by the Christian. It is for the Jew to surrender his convictions, abandon his negations, and accept the formularies and symbols of Christianity.

As a Christian tenacious of my own beliefs, and attached to the Christian establishment, I have the common disposition of other men to wish that all the Jews and all the Gentiles, too, might see things as I see them. But I humbly venture to think that such a road to harmony between myself and my fellow men is not in the least degree practicable. Christianity in its relation to the Jew cannot assume the attitude of the old Quaker: "All the world is queer but thee and me, and I have seen thee acting strangely sometimes." It is this attitude, perhaps displayed on both sides, that has historically characterized the conflicts of the ages between the Christian and the Jew.

It is quite time such an attempt was abandoned. It is time Christianity were presented to the Jew in a manner in which he can see that he can be Christian without ceasing to be a Jew. At least he should be shown that Christianity does not in fact mainly consist of a creed to be accepted, or an establishment to be joined, *but of a spirit of life*, that is just as essential and just as obligatory upon a Jew as upon a Christian.

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That which technically characterizes a Jew is of the same sort and kind with that which technically characterizes a Christian. It is not of the slightest importance that a Jew chooses to celebrate certain feasts, and perform certain ceremonies. These things, though they chiefly mark him as a Jew, neither tell us anything about his religion, nor make him any the more or any the less religious. If religion is a spirit of life, and not a formulary, there is not a good reason possible to be given why Christians should seek to win a Jew away from any form that he practices, or attach him to any form that

the Christian practices. To approach him from that angle is merely to repeat the controversy that has vexed the ages vainly, in the midst of which innumerable cruelties and barbarisms have thrived.

The explication of Christianity for the Jew, which will begin to break down the wall of separation, without the surrender of any principle on either side; will be such an one as exhibits in practice *the spirit of life* that is in Christianity. The ages of formal and ecclesiastical Christianity have attempted in vain to impose the creed and the establishment upon the Jew. But very little has the religion of Jesus been presented to him. At least it has not been presented to him as Christianity. The spirit of life in Christianity is not an urgency to believe a statement of doctrine, nor an impulsion toward mass uniformity in an establishment. It is in the last analysis the spirit of love. Now, whatever else Christians may have tried to do with the Jew, they have never, anywhere on earth, on a large scale, tried the plan of loving him.

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If our talk of the modern spirit of brotherhood is anything more than mere vapping, it should amount at least to a determination to supplant the brute force of the ages with the love spirit of Jesus Christ. The brute force has killed Jews, it has killed them with incidents and circumstances of horrid cruelty that fills all history with their groans. Brute force is the weapon handiest to the savage, the power most sought and used by savage peoples and in savage times. Brute force for nineteen centuries has covered itself under the mantle of the Christian name, until to Jews, and to many others deemed heretic by the church, Christianity has come, in their minds, to stand for the perpetuation of the reign of force.

The Christian of modern days has the tremendous task of lifting that odium from his religion. The Jew, fleeing from brute force in Russia, must not be left to imagine that the Christianity of Russia is the Christianity of America, or the Christianity of Jesus Christ. The duty of American Christianity is make it clear to the Ghetto, and especially to the

more intelligent Jews who come here, that the Christian of America, in his love for men, does not distinguish between a Jew and other men. The helpful hand of the Christian, offering bread, offering education, offering in a Christian city the freedom of Christian institutions, educating Jewish children, sympathizing with refugees, pouring out money to do good to Jews—that is the only possible explication of Christianity that can begin to commend it to a people who have heretofore only known it in terms of force, or in terms of formularies, metaphysics and establishments.

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Much as I might like to bring all the Jews to think as I do, and to join the church to which I belong, I have to propose, with some fear of being misunderstood, that Christians should cease from all formal attempts to “convert” the Jews. So far as his convictions, his forms, his establishments are concerned, the most profitable thing for him and for us is to let him entirely alone. Formal and mechanical missions to Jews, instituted with the ex-

pectation of convincing him by the metaphysical argument that supports Christianity, or by an appeal to his emotional nature, or to his selfish interests, are, and always have been, of doubtful ethical character. The measure of their success has not shown them to be of great practical use. It is evident to common knowledge that the mass of Jews remain untouched by such movements.

The reaction of Jews against the assumption of Christians that they ought to be converted (implying that Christianity is a superior system), is only a process of making the breach wider, and the feeling more disagreeable. The Christian may firmly believe his religion superior, and that may happen to be the truth, but the Jew knows, and history supports his contention, that the kind of Christianity that has been most constantly brought to bear upon Jews is not something for him to accept—it is an abomination for him to repudiate, and, so far as he believes this to be Christianity, he properly resents the implication that he ought to be converted by Christians.

Now whatever may be the facts of this case, that undoubtedly is the average opinion among Jews. They not only do not think that Christians have a better faith than they—they revert to the savage blood lust that made the horror of Kishineff, and the *auto de fé* of the fifteenth century; they point to the superstitions of the ceremonial in the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia, and they are thereby fixed all the firmer in the religion of the Talmud and of the Old Testament. They cannot be reached from the standpoint of Christians who begin by attempting to “convert” them.

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In speaking to the Jew, the Christian will be obliged at last, if he would speak to any purpose, to use the common language of humanity, unmixed with the technical vocabulary of ecclesiastical and credal Christianity. Speaking thus, certain discoveries will speedily be made. Both the Christian and the Jew, much to the astonishment of many on both sides, will find out that they are speaking in exactly the same tone of voice, and using a language not

only common to both but perfectly intelligible. There is not an important belief held by Jews that is not also held by Christians. If the Christian believes that some important beliefs that he holds are not shared by the Jew or are denied, it will usually be found that the discussion of these, and insistence upon these, can always be safely deferred. There is nothing that cannot be deferred to clear the way for a common sympathy of humane helpfulness. The exercise of this by the Christian will be sufficient. Everything else that is of consequence will certainly follow in its own time and way. A clasp of the hand, a word of welcome to America, relief for the suffering, tolerance and pity for the ignorant and despairing, a policy of the Good Samaritan applied to the Ghetto by Fifth Avenue and the Plaza, will be a new explication of Christianity. It will begin to clear the way for an understanding. It will teach the Jew that not Christianity, but the brutality of the beast nature in man has persecuted the Jew; that the superstition and immorality of the ecclesiasticism that he has known as the Holy Ortho-

dox Church of Russia is not Christianity at all, does not even begin Christianity, much less comprise it and conclude it. It will show the immigrant the stupendous and surprising difference between the religion of Jesus administered in love and the brutal hierarchy that has been for ages directed against his happiness and life. The duty of Christianity toward the incoming Jew is the duty that was embodied in the first of the supreme laws of life given to man in the Gospel of Jesus Christ: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

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Certainly one specific item of the policy of loving the Jew will be an insistence by American Christendom upon his right to come here. Yet more, we ought to make it perfectly plain to the government of the United States that we want the refugee to come, and that we want him on grounds of humanity and religion. We want him that we may share with him the wealth and the privileges of this country; that we may teach him the real and essential nature of the Christianity that he now so grossly misunder-

stands; that we may ourselves be blessed in the exercise of that religion of love expressed in an aphorism of Jesus: "It is more blessed to give than to receive." Christians cannot afford to miss the opportunity that will offer in the coming here of these refugees.

If Christians were in any doubt as to this policy of the open door Russiaward, that the Russian Jew may freely come in, a consideration of self-interest might well be added to the motive of humanity. Whatever other battles for the faiths that Christians hold dear may have to be fought out in America, the point of conflict, the critical controversy of the coming decades will not be located in our relations with the Jews. We are certain, on the other hand, to be ranged in general on the same side with Jews, in those struggles that are before us to maintain the most fundamental contentions of Christianity. If, for example, it happens that we must take new ground as to the Bible, every thoughtful Christian realizes the danger, in the transition to the newer views, of losing the Biblical authority entirely. The

Jews, and especially the Russian Jews, though traditionally and practically attached to the Talmud, are always ready to claim the Old Testament as their religious book, and very few of them make any issue against the New Testament. Their ingrained ideas of their sacred literature are mostly unaffected by the modern discussions of the new points of view. They have not to be convinced of the truth of the Ten Commandments, nor are they in doubt in their worship of the "One True God" of the Christian faith. They are believers in immortality, and they are well grained in the ethical teaching of Moses and the Old Testament precepts.

If the next great struggle of Christendom is to be for the maintenance of the Bible; for the explication of the doctrine of human immortality, and man's inspirations that are based on that belief; for a rational doctrine of theism; for the defense of a real supernaturalism; then it is of some significance that a great colony of people, with whom the ordinary Christian affirmation of these positions would be a mere truism of their faith, are to be

added to the forces that will be set over against the atheism, the agnosticism, the pessimism, the religious cynicism, the floods of which are rising, perhaps, in all the world.

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Moreover the Christian of modern times, probably as never before, identifies essential Christianity with many human activities that once were separated from Christianity, and labelled secular. There has been a time, not so long gone by, when the thrift, the industry, the eagerness for an education, the moral instinct even, of the Jews, would have seemed to have no relation to our Christian concern about him. But that time, and that state of indifference to the things of this world on the part of Christians are passing away. It is of great concern to every thoughtful Christian, studying the present as well as the eternal welfare of men, to inquire whether the subjects of its efforts are good citizens of the city, and useful members of society. It is therefore of moment, just now, to consider the facts that I have rehearsed in a former chapter, as to the quality

of these immigrants. It is of concern as a Christian question, even more than as an American question.

If Christ is to have, through his followers, a kingdom of God on this earth, all the social and political facts of human societies are important. Christians cannot any longer leave the Jew to stand or fall upon the preaching to him of a salvation in some future world. If the Ghetto concerns us, if it concerns Jesus Christ as the head of Christendom, then it is a charge laid upon the heart of New York, and of every community where refugees find shelter from the knife of the assassin, and the torch of the incendiary, and the brutality of government, to ascertain what is their character, their possibilities as citizens, their needs as a part of that great company of the poor, of whom Jesus said they are "always with you." These immigrants, who are to be a part of the civilization we are building in America, are a significant addition to our social and political fabrics, and Christians will be recreant to their duty if they fail to grasp these facts about them which explain them, and to influence humanity in their

behalf. Especially will Christianity be shamed, if we lack anything of earnestness and power in our protest against their wrongs, or of charity and sympathy in bidding them welcome to our shores.

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It is well worth while for Christians, whose opportunity it is to come into close relations with Jews, to consider the critical value of the present exigency. The Jewish question is up for discussion, and the Jews would be indeed a dense minded and ungrateful people, if they were not greatly moved by the outpoured sympathy of Christendom elicited by the massacre at Kishineff. There never has been a time in all history more favorable for considering the agreements between Jews and Christians, and for projecting and promoting new agreements. This is a chance to strike hands, and close up a little the chasm of the centuries. The warm initiative of sentiment, voiced in thousands of newspapers, and uttered from thousands of Christian pulpits, might easily begin a movement, far more practicable, and far more hopeful, both to the Christian and the Jew,

than the Zionist movement that is interesting many children of Israel.

Certainly one need not commend specific, much less formal overtures between Jew and Christian. But it will be much if the episode introduces a better understanding; begins to convince the Christian, in a real sense, that the Jews are brethren, no longer to be regarded as a separate, peculiar, and undesirable type, to be excluded and suspected. There ought to be warmth in Christian sunshine to lure the Jew out of the Ghetto, and make him, at least to make his children of the rising generation, citizens and neighbors. The epithet, and the hateful accent with which the epithet is flung, should be banished from Christian lips. The son of Israel, by so much as he is law-abiding and peaceable, should no longer be spoken of as "only a Jew." When we invite him to participate in Christian fellowship, or in social fellowship we should take care not to advertise that we are so liberal as to include "even" the Jew. What should be thought

of Jews who told us that they include "even" Christians in their tolerance?

Beyond all specific measure, and below all details of the case, must stand the everlasting demand for a real brotherhood based in human love. It is time Christians tried the policy of love with the Jew. The blood stains that mark this persecuted figure of the ages, will not soon be washed away, perhaps; but Christianity, if it stands for anything, stands for the ministration of that Good Samaritan who bound up the wounds of the victim by the wayside. We shall fail in the spirit of that great Teacher of men who made the Samaritan immortal, if we do not begin to bind up the innumerable wounds of the Jew. To us, people of free America, especially the Christians, he has upturned his tear-stained face; to us he has reached out his beseeching hands. What kind of answer will Christianity make?

Chapter VII

Russian Responsibility



THE floorways of the throne!"

The indictment by civilization, viewing the stains, is not materially lightened by the exculpation of the Minister of the Interior, even if the world believed the denial of that inhuman dispatch. The guilt of a vast despotism is not phrased in an order to kill, merely, nor relieved by isolated denials. There is a logic in the processes of great peoples whereby they are justly judged before the bar of history, and as to Kishineff that judgment has been inexorably pronounced by the civilized world. The throne, irrespective of the amiable qualities of the temporary occupant, who will go his way with other mortal dust—the throne, standing for more than Kishineff, of horror and blackness, bears the blood mark, and the verdict of civilization is against Russia, no matter whether

its representative be a Plevhe, or some other instrument. It is Russia that the world has indicted, and Russia must bear the blame.*

The logic of the governmental process, the genius of the ruling spirit stands represented in the throne, and this logic, this genius, are not opposed to the persecution of the Jew. They are in favor of it. There is no influential protest in Russia against the horror of Kishineff. There is no executive movement by the ruling classes to render a repetition of Kishineff impossible. The Czar, having power to

* It is for the Russian Government, confronted by the undeniably suspicious and even accusing sentiment of the civilized world, to place itself in some other position than one where the best that can be said for it is that it should have the benefit of a doubt. The very petition of the Kishineff Jews to the Russian Minister of the Interior, asking that he proclaim that the Jews of the empire are within the protection of its laws, and their humble satisfaction at his promise to do so, constitute a terrible but unresented indictment of the Russian Government. The silence of the autocracy in the face of the Jew-baiting propaganda, its nearly farcial reprimands to the leading criminals and instigators and its sinister activity in suppressing any voice that was raised in denunciation of the Kishineff horror amount almost to a confession of judgment.—*Mail and Express*, New York, May 28.

give equal rights to the Jews of Russia, does not speak the word. The ruling nobles, able to do justice to the Jew in Russia, propose no measures for even protecting his life. The nobles, one and all, so far, stand for the perpetuation of conditions in which future Jew killing is inevitable. One need mean no more than this, when one declares that the blood of Kishineff crimson the floorways of the throne. To prove as much as this is to answer the "limp and lavender" apologies of some weak-backed Americans, who advise the world that America must not pronounce Russia accountable for the Easter massacre of 1903. The sure instinct, the better logic of our democracy affirms that she is responsible, and the verdict that is passing into history will be fixed that way.

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The logic of the processes of a great people, indicated by the kind of government that obtains, apprizes mankind of what spirit it is. Russia is before the bar of the world for judgment, and Kishineff is the occasion for the inquiry of what spirit she is.

Her history will be reinspected, her secrets will be opened. When this is done, there should not be much surprise at Kishineff. Kishineff is as certainly and accurately a mark of Russia, as horns and hoofs are a mark of the prince of darkness.

What is the logic of process in Russia? What is the genius of her spirit? What kind of a beast is this vast dark Bear, with his back against the ice wall of the poles? The sun of civilization may glint a little from his south-turned face, and even in his winter mood he cannot escape the rays that stream from the lands that border him, and the influences that are making the world anew, in these modern days. The Bear has even taken to blinking his eyes, as if he were intending some day to waken, which some have supposed to be the sign that he knows there is a sun of civilization. But at his back is still the mediæval ice, and he still lives in his bloody den, where the bones of innumerable victims of his jaws and claws whiten in the dim daylight.

Ingrain the fiber of life in a people with long standing traditions of cruelty and blood lust, and the

instinct will persist beyond the impulse of a few years of subsequent amelioration. Russia has the genius of a long heredity of savage and tyrannical practice, grained in her fibre, and it will not go out merely by building a railroad to Vladivostok, or by a pleasant rescript of toleration by the Czar.

Siberia is the witness to the spirit of Russia, and Siberian exile is not yet abolished. Kennan was justified in calling the Siberian exile system of Russia, "the darkest blot upon the civilization of the nineteenth century." Has not this incarnate tyranny of all the earth responsibility for Siberia? We are still within the sound of the fierce echoes of the knout, drawing the best and finest blood of the empire from the backs of political offenders who had dared to speak of light in a midnight land. For a long procession of the years exiles numbering an annual average of ten to thirteen thousand, passed over the dreary road to the arctic solitudes and horrible prisons of Tomsk, Tiumen and the Kara. Four per cent. of all these exiles were religious and political offenders. They comprised the finest and

most delicate women, and the learned and progressive men of the realm. They were the editors, the authors, the university students, who in other lands make the influential elements of a population. By the direct policy of the Czars, they were flogged to death. They invited the bullet to end their miseries, they went insane with horrors they could not endure, they dropped on the dreadful march like birds with broken wings, and were not even buried from sight by their tormentors. To be registered as a suspect, was to be at the dictum of the military judge, who had but to give the order, and the victim took up the long march to Siberia. Trial by jury was never known. No man might question his accusers.

By the instinct of cruelty grained in the fibre of the nation, by the intolerance of light characteristic of the Bear, who had not even learned to blink his eyes, Siberia sucked up the lives of untold thousands of the best of Russia's populace, through weary years of savagery. Cable says that the death rate of the Siberian exiles "exceeds that of any pestilence that ever fell on Europe in the Middle Ages." In

the Kara River prisons, seven in number, distributed up and down the river for twenty miles, the annual mortality was four hundred and forty in every one thousand. For making an enlightened speech in the streets of Moscow fifteen years; for writing a political pamphlet, twenty years! Nor will any historian ever find out, or ever be able to tell humanity, the concealed horrors of that land of ice, and the sufferings of its innumerable victims of Russian governmental process. The logic of process, is the logic of Siberia. It is a method by which the Bear in his den guards his darkness, and maintains mediævalism.

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Sparks of freedom in the empire of the Czar, are the signal for the hose. Scarcely are they anywhere allowed to break into a flame. They generate secretly the smothered heats of Nihilism, that burn like some persistent forest fire under the punk heaps and damp mold of the earth. If, as in Finland, intelligence begins to become common, and self-government succeeds, straitway the hose is turned on,

and the fire quenched. Finland also is the demonstration to the world of Russia's logic of process.

This grand duchy, inhabited by a thrifty and energetic people, with a religion of their own, and speaking their own tongue, was a constitutional establishment. Since 1899 its independence has been taken away. The ukase of the Czar commanded the use of the Russian tongue. The priest and religion of the Holy Orthodox Greek Church of Russia was imposed on the people as the established religious order. The independent military establishment was abolished, and the Finns conscripted into the Russian regiments. The freedom of Finland in an empire of despotism was a spark, that would grow into a flame. The emissaries of the government could not watch Finland from St. Petersburg. The control must be direct. The army must be there; the State Church must be there; Russia with her mediæval barbarism undertakes, in the most intelligent regions, to supplant the thrift, independence, and knowledge of the people with the ignorance, tyrrany and superstition of the remainder of

the dark empire. The solidarity of the empire would be threatened, if Finland were allowed to remain especially enlightened, and exceptionally free. The Finn must submit, and revert to Russian civilization, to Russian barbarism—or he must emigrate. Seven thousand of them in a single month chose the latter alternative. Driving them out, the darkness is left a little more opaque, for the emigrant from Russia is invariably her most intelligent representative.

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This is the land that can proscribe and exile Tolstoi, that can suppress the free voice of her press. Kennan gives by pages the list of suppressed papers and tabooed books that the ukase of the Czar, or the censorship of his agents have stifled. Books mean light and life. The safety and power of a free country is in her press, and in the freedom of its utterance. Here again appears Russia's logic of process. If within her borders there arises a man whose education falls outside the orthodoxy of the Holy Russian Church, he becomes, in the hour of

the discovery, a candidate for Siberia. His book, or his pamphlet, or his newspaper, are censored, or destroyed.

Were the peasants who slaughtered the Jews in Kishineff ignorant and superstitious? And pray why should they not be ignorant and superstitious, in a country where the only education that is not crucified is the teaching of the Greek Church? where the doctrines of love and brotherhood that Tolstoi stands for are forbidden to circulate? where all knowledge of science and a truly Christian civilization are kept from the common people, as the only means of maintaining the ascendancy of an aristocracy as ignorant as they? Darkness, the support of the present order, is the only safety for the empire, as long as its logic of process remains what it is.

Nor is it a matter of surprise to the student of Russian institutions to observe that brutality in the logic of process makes life unsafe in Russia, even in the palace of the Czar. It was under the reign of Alexander II, whom the Jews account as a more

liberal sovereign than Nicholas II, that the horrors of Siberia were at apogee. Political proscription was never more active than in that day. The reaction of Nihilism was an answer in kind, by the law that brutality in the ruling power will always beget brutality in the subject. The most educated men of Russia, belonging, in that day as in this, among the Nihilist agitators, found no better method of protest against their slavery, and the royal proscription and persecution, than a programme of assassination. Hartmann and his backers, who posted their revolutionary placards on the palace gate, on the day after Alexander II fell under their wrath, were only puny victims wounding the Bear that crushed them under his claws. The law of force is the logic of process in Russia. Nicholas has no more safety sitting on the valve, than had Alexander II. It is true that patriotism has increased in Russia by reason of the cry that has been sounded there, that Russia is to be the master of the world. The Pacific entourage of the Russian, that now threatens to become a settlement has changed Siberia from a

penal colony into land of industrial hope, and made that vast territory of people more loyal to the throne. But this again is a worship of force. It has not enlightened the empire, it has not freed the Jew, it has not unmuzzled the press. The march through Siberia has become a military movement, and an emigrant's movement, where it was formerly the dead march of the exile; but it is still the tread of the blind Bear, scarcely blinking his eyes as he faces the eastern light.

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If any farther proof were needed that Russia is only forcing an extension of her logic of process, which is but the tread of the blind Bear, the dead bodies by thousands of the Manchurian victims, heaped in the Amur River would add to the indictment. Four thousand bodies were piled there at one ford. They were speared helplessly trying to surrender to the Cossack cavalry that hewed them down. This is Russia's first touch upon China. It is with this record that she begins her Pacific dominion over against the west shore of America.

These Cossack troopers of the Czar are the most civilized, daring and able of all the military forces. Nevertheless, they ravage and kill without mercy. Their old habits of independent procedure, gained by a long history of free adventure on their wide plains, persist since their mobilization in the regular military forces. They are the troops that still bury their victims alive if they have been found resisting too strenuously before surrender. The picture in Michael Strogoff of the birds circling above the head of a living man, buried to his neck in the soil of the prairie and left to the mercy of the jackals and buzzards, is not false to the fact. In Russia a cruelty of that kind is a trivial incident. It is but a faint impress on the earth of the imprint of the claw with which the Bear rends humanity, even in this modern day. It is a sign of the logic of process in Russia.

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Revert to the Jew, and consider if there has not been a more direct logic of process, that makes Russia responsible for Kishineff. Her Jews were in

a land of their own. Poland, unhappy and rent, fell into the force-diplomacy of Europe. Russia shared with Austria and Prussia in the shame of her final dismemberment. It was Russian troops who really defeated Kosciusko, and it was Russian soldiery that perpetrated the inhuman barbarities that made Warsaw a city of tragic memories forever. And it was the result of the overthrow of that patriot who is honored in America as a compeer of Washington in the struggle for human liberty, and of the horrors of Warsaw that followed, that Russia received her inheritance of Jews. They were added by force to the brutal empire of the Czar, and in Russia's bloody maw they began their history in Pales of Settlement, chiefly in the conquered provinces that Kosciusko was unable to save to freedom.

From that day, being a charge upon the hands of the Czar, their fortunes rested in his logic of process. They never were made Russians. Poland was destroyed, but the Jews gained no other country. They are aliens still, and have only the rights of conquered slaves. For a hundred years the Czar

has oppressed them. The whole population has been taught that they are to have no equal rights. The brutal peasantry understand perfectly well that Russia never punishes adequately a crime against a Jew. The rioters of Kishineff are not to-day in any fear of the vengeance of the government. The explanation of Count Cassini is a part of the logic of process characteristic of Russia. The Jew is to be blamed for being killed, not the Russian for killing him.

It is this logic of process that was wholly grained in the mind of the governor of Bessarabia when he ordered Jews back into their houses, and forbade them to defend themselves. If he has been removed, in a mild attempt to placate civilization, neither he nor the Czar has thereby repudiated the logic, nor have they removed the certainty that the Jew will continue to be killed,* and that no one will be adequately punished. The governor was strictly

* Synchronously with this writing the dispatches (June 9, 1903), announce that riots and outrages on Jews in Barestaczk, Galicia, have terrified the whole Jewish population, who have closed stores and houses and fled from the town.

representing Russia, when he suffered the mob to kill the Jews. That is the inexorable logic of process. The police of Kishineff had no apprehension of future wrath from St. Petersburg when they assisted in the violation of Jewesses, and the dispoiling of the stores of Jews. They knew, and all the world knows, that they represented Russia perfectly, and that all Russia would condone or commend the killing and looting of the persecuted aliens of the realm. Russia approves Siberia, approves the tyranny in Finland, approves the slaughter at the Amur River, and Russia approves Kishineff. Diplomatically the Bear blinks enough before the light of civilization to attempt a mild placating of American sentiment, and mild diplomatic denials—and that is all. The governor will not be knouted in Siberia; the police will not be hanged in Kishineff; the populace will not be sternly disciplined. Russia remains as before, a place of brutal force, where the life of a Jew is always at stake, and cruelty and superstition and duplicity remain the genius of the empire.

Not exactly as before, because civilization presses on the border. There is power in the light, and the light must spread. But it is from without. America sends her gleams over there, and civilized Europe must be reckoned with. A railroad to Vladivostok will not change the nature of the Bear, but it will make another channel through which the light will press in against the Bear's mediæval blindness.

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What kind of argument may Russia be able to use to convince civilization that she is not responsible? Certainly not the *tu quoque* argument with which some Americans point to American disorder. The answer to that retort rests in the comparative history of two absolutely different peoples. There has never been a parallel of Kishineff in the United States, and there never could be. It is not in the logic of process of the United States to be in danger of any such thing. He reads history, and studies traits to very little purpose who, at the end, could admit any just comparison between the sporadic outbreak of mob passions in new communities, as in

Wyoming, under a system of local government, remote from central power, and the plain inevitable consequence of Russia's policy toward her Jewish populations for a hundred years. Has it ever happened in America that the police of a community assisted in assassination? Has it ever happened that a governor staid in his residence two days, refusing to act, while mobs controlled the streets and pillaged two thousand houses?

But it is far more to the point to insist upon the just claim of Americans to fair play. There is in this country a constant and universal stream of protest against lawlessness, even where it cannot be reached and corrected. No man could justly charge that the American spirit makes cruelty and oppression inevitable. The utmost that could be charged would be that the American logic of process cannot operate always to prevent a mob. No such thing as that would be required of Russia, notwithstanding her centralized government that makes every officer of the police a direct creature of the Czar. But the swift instinct of the humane world seizes

without hesitation upon the exact point of the matter, when it makes the government in Russia responsible for Kishineff, and denies that the United States has any such sort of responsibility for sporadic mob outbreaks in this land. That instinct without hesitation, differentiates between two contrasted kinds of government, and it asserts at once that a government that has historically, for a thousand years, the ingrained tradition of brute force and savage cruelty, must have Kishineffs as a part of its logic of process, but that a nation founded and maintained on the principle of liberty and self-government will have them, if at all, only as a violation and a contradiction of its entire history and policy. America is more ashamed of its mobs than any other people can be, while Russia, so long as the mobs represent antagonism against the alien, and reaction against the Jew, only finds its ambassadors and representatives shouldering the responsibility upon the victims, and apologizing to humanity.

What sort of argument will convince Christendom that the Russian government is not responsible ?

Most certainly not the statement of Count Cassini that the Jews do not like agriculture, and that they are usurers. Nor if he gave the true reason why they were killed, and said frankly that it is because they are Jews, and that their thrift and intelligence may not be tolerated in the darkness of Russia, would humanity be any the better satisfied. Russia, with her cruelties, is responsible for the presence of Jews in Russia, responsible for shutting them up in towns where they are at the mercy of mobs, responsible for the system of superstition that a State Church and an ignorant and immoral priesthood support, responsible for the tyranny of her nobles, and the poverty and misery of her populace.

If Russia would remove from the world the conviction, now so swiftly and surely generated, that she is not responsible for Kishineff, the process is perfectly plain to Americans, by which that may be accomplished. When the recreant governor is sent to Siberia or the scaffold, when the courts of Kishineff punish the guilty police, and the guilty leaders of the mob, when the property of robbed Jews has

been made good, when damages for their injuries and compensation for the lives lost has been made, when an ambassador who represents Russia in the capital of the United States is recalled and rebuked, when the Pale of Settlement is abolished, when the scholarship of Russia represented in her students, her authors, her poets, her editors, are freed from the ban of the censor, and promoted to seats of favor, when the people of Russia are placed on a political equality, so far as race and creed are concerned—when in short Russia reverses her logic of process, and adopts the creed of a humane civilization, the world will be as swift to relieve her as it is to-day to condemn her. The sure proof that the world understands Russia and condemns her, is to be found in the conviction, shared by all humanity, that Russia will not do one of these necessary things. It is this conviction that lies behind the verdict of civilization that Russia is responsible for Kishineff.

THE RUSSIAN EXPLANATION

The following statement was cabled to the *Christian Herald*, New York, and is reproduced here by courtesy of that paper. It will be noted:

1. That the proprietor of a carousing machine, a Jew, "struck a woman," and that this began the outbreak. According to Michael Davitt, who says that he personally investigated this story there is no truth in it. Mr. Davitt says:

"I found that the origin of the riots at Kishineff was not as was reported by the Russian accounts, which alleged that a Christian woman was struck by the Jew proprietor of a merry-go-round, which provoked the crowds of peasants to the ensuing riots. There is no truth in this story. I found the owner of the merry-go-round. He is a German named Reinhold Mergert, and is a Christian. He assured me that no woman was insulted or hurt on that occasion."—*New York Journal*, June 4.

2. That the blame for the outbreak is laid upon the Jews, exactly in accord with Count Cassini's initiative.

3. That nothing is said about punishing farther the governor and the head of the police.

4. That the government specifically announce that it will not grant relief to the Jews, from the conditions that still leave them at the mercy of future outbreaks.

5. Assuming that this is the best defense the government can offer, Americans should consider whether Russian responsibility does not stand practically confessed, and whether the guilt should not be visited upon the government that now tries to shoulder upon the victims the blame that attaches to their own undoing.

The statement is as follows:

“Russia’s agricultural and laboring population is ill at ease, living the common life with Jewish inhabitants of widely developed commercial instinct; hence there is constant antagonism, the material differences in racial and religious character coming to the verge of frenzy at the least possible occasion.

“The strained relations existing between the Russians and Jews of Bessarabia were made worse by the fact of finding in an outlying village a murdered Christian boy. The murder was attributed by the population to the Jewish ritual habits. Official denials of the ritual murder were not given credit by the peasants, who attributed other murders of

Christians in the towns of Kieff and Kishineff likewise to the Jews.

“ On Easter Day, in the market place of Kishineff, the workers while holiday making saw the Jewish proprietor of a carousing machine strike a Christian woman, who fell to the ground, letting go her infant baby. This incident was the immediate cause of an outburst. The workers began breaking windows and pulling down Jewish stores as a sign of protest.

“ The police, who always leave much to be desired in provincial towns, failed to make efficacious intervention, and many thousands of the mass of onlookers and holiday makers approving the riot and hindering the policemen’s actions.

“ After demonstrations came plunderers, the outbreak lasting from five in the afternoon to ten in the evening, and leaving nine Jewish bodies on the place. Night brought the disturbance to an end.

“ What goes far to prove the momentous character of the outbreak in letting loose the popular passions with the strength of natural forces is that on Monday morning the Jews, wishing to intimidate and inflict punishment on the Christian workers, began assembling on the market place in groups armed with sticks and other weapons.

“ The Jews, being the more numerous had the best of it in the two first encounters, and a Christian

was seen to fall, receiving a bullet wound. This called for the popular passion in all its abject force and abomination, the Russian peasants when driven to frenzy and excited by race and religious hatred, and under the influence of alcohol, being worse than the Americans who lynch negroes.

“Unfortunately, the Governor of Bessarabia did not make his appearance in person on Easter Sunday, and on Monday he gave over the command to military men, which he had no right to do, as he, in consequence, laid the police aside, and, on the other hand, left the military forces without actual guidance. Troops can take towns by assault, but cannot carry out police duties without special instructions.

“In the end, the town having been divided into districts, with a special military command in each, the disturbances ceased on Monday evening. By this time the Minister of the Interior had ordered by wire the proclamation of martial law and (an unprecedented fact) had sent the Director of the Police Department to investigate as to the responsibilities of the local officials.

“In consequence, the Governor, the Chief of the Police and some other officials were dismissed outright, many hundreds of rioters are in prison, and hard work in the Siberian mines awaits them.

“The Minister of the Interior has issued a circular


to Governors all over Russia authorizing them to make immediate use of firearms in cases of anti-Jewish disturbances.

“The Russian Government is the first to disapprove of such horrid acts of violence, but it cannot, in compliance with the requests of a radical and revolutionary press, give the Jews new rights of citizenship, as this would be sure to drive the Russian population to new excesses against the Jews, who are hated by the peasants with such extraordinary force.

“LOPOUKINE,
Director of Police Department.”

Chapter VIII

Grounds of Protest

N the chapter which follows this I have pointed out some considerations to show that the natural friendly alliances of the United States are not with Russia. Nevertheless, if Russia, for whatever reasons, desires our friendship, that fact may have significance when we come to deal with a crisis like the present. There will be, in that case, an opportunity to test her friendship on the very good and apt maxim that "faithful are the wounds of a friend." That such a test should be made, and made immediately, is probably the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the American people.

The American people, taken in the mass, do not greatly concern themselves, and do not intimately understand the niceties and delicate balances of international diplomacy. They do not, to a very large

extent, acquaint themselves with the polite forms, and courteous phraseology, in which exchanges of international imperatives are couched. They are, probably, as a rule, a little impatient as to the red tape of official formulæ and administrative action. If Russia has offended, they do not feel particular as to the manner in which we shall say so. A plain democratic, and straightforward sentence is the best sort of diplomacy for the average American. They will always prefer such language and such procedure to the ambiguity and the uncertainty, not to say duplicity, that too largely characterizes the exchanges of European courts. That which they now desire is for the United States, through its administration, to say to Russia that we, the American people, sharply disapprove the conditions in Russia, which place five million human beings in perpetual danger of outrage, persecution, and the horrors that have been perpetrated on them in Kishineff.

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Have we any business to make such a representation to Russia ?

We certainly have, and on the best of grounds.

Regardless of the question of international courtesy, the call of humanity has the imperative precedence. The time is gone by forever when any nation of men have a right to live wholly unto themselves.* We may have no right to subvert Russian government and substitute our own, but we have the right and the duty to inquire after the welfare, and to try to conserve the welfare of our fellow men in any quarter of the globe. A government is a

* Once peoples were concerned only with one another's foreign affairs. Now they are concerned about domestic affairs, and an outrage in one country against the standards of civilization awakens the interest and attention of all nations. While they do not presume to interfere in one another's domestic affairs, there is such a thing as interference by the pressure of public opinion. Every nation has what the Declaration of Independence styles a "decent respect for the opinion of mankind," and this opinion knows no boundaries or artificial political divisions. It has the same right to exert itself in behalf of justice for the Russian Jew as it ever had to exert itself in behalf of justice for the Irish, or for the oppressed of any land. No government can afford to be indifferent to this opinion of mankind, and the most rational way for Russia to respect it would be to hang the leaders of the Kishineff mob. — *Detroit Free Press*, May 23, 1903.

wholly public institution, that cannot take advantage of the rights of privacy that is accorded to a household within its own domicile. There is no internal affair of any government that may not be inquired into by any other government in the interests of humanity at large. It is time for the greater powers of the earth to begin to assert that principle in no uncertain terms. Misgovernment may proceed against the interests of its subjects in any local matter in which common humanity has no immediate concern. But governments, in our day, must be made amenable to the broad human principles that make life tolerable, and provide against unlawful assaults upon it. It would be entirely proper, for example, for any civilized power to inquire into lynchings in the United States, and to protest against them, and on this principle of humanity we could only remain silent, or answer respectfully with such explanations and apologies as we have.

All this is on the admitted assumption that humane principles, which protect life, and make the race of man safe from extermination by each other,

transcend all rights and powers of the several governments as such. It was on some such principle as this that we demanded the evacuation of Cuba by the Spanish government. There was no other ground on which our interference there could have been sufficiently justified. It is on such ground that we are perfectly empowered to insist upon safety to the five million Jews in the empire of the Czar. We do not come in sight of governmental functions as such, nor of the delicacies of diplomatic negotiation, until we have passed by this one broad, deep, eternal principle of human intercourse, and human social right. We need not consider phraseology, nor halt at the possible breach of courtesy, as if this were a matter for the Russian Government alone. The protest of the American people is the protest of humanity, and it may lift the question entirely above international courtesy and considerations of the ordinary rights of governments.

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There is another consideration of which Americans are tenacious, and that makes it seem neces-

sary for us to interfere in behalf of the Jews in Russia. Jean Jacques Rousseau, I think it was, proposed that we abolish the two words, "God" and "Right." The American people have not adopted either of these suggestions. You do not have to go very deep into the American's reasons for anything before you come upon both these words. As to the latter word, you come upon it, usually, first. If you ask the average American why we freed Cuba, why we kept the Philippines, why we freed the slave, why we ought to protest to Russia, he will very soon tell you, whatever other reasons he may urge, that he favors these things because they are right. He may be mistaken about this. But this is always one of his reasons. And he is so constituted in his democracy, that he believes with all his heart that the government that represents him ought to do things because they are right. Though the American is a trader, and has an eye to the main chance in Russia, and wants to sell his locomotives, and automobiles, and steam plows, and iron, and steel and cotton, in that empire, nevertheless, he will keep them all at

home, and even consent to stop making them while he buys a musket and votes a war, when he has once become convinced that he is right, and that what is right can be done in no other way.

If this administration, if the powers of Russia, if the great powers of Europe doubt this, if they believe that we have over here only a trading Yankee who will sacrifice even humanity itself for the trade dollar, they have only to remember certain episodes in our history. And in this day, the American wants his government to make efforts to help the Russian Jew, by representations to Russia, because this is the right course for this government to take; because the end to be reached, at last, behind all other consideration is right.

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Two or three movements, or expressions, on the part of President Roosevelt, have made him strong with the people of this country. One of these was the appointment of a commission to settle the coal strike. Another was his invitation to an eminent citizen to dinner, notwithstanding some sullen, and

some jeering comment from the South. Yet another is his note concerning the control of the Pacific. If he had been a politician, keeping his ear to the ground, instead of a broad-minded statesman, proceeding to do things because they are right, he could not easily have better pleased the great mass of right-thinking people of the United States, in all three of these movements. But is it not apparent to him, and to his administration, that the people of these United States desire and expect that Kishineff shall be noticed, and that Russia shall be warned? The suspicion that the administration is unduly unfriendly to Germany is an unpopular sound, but the knowledge that this administration has spoken in behalf of humanity, in behalf of oppressed Jews, as against the barbarism of Russia, would be hailed with satisfaction by the mass of people who are considering the question of the next presidency as well as the qualities of this. Policy, in this case, unites plainly with humanity and the principle of right, to invite administrative action upon the relation of Russia to the Jews within her borders.

Moreover, the slightest consideration of our international relations would apprise us that the friendship of Great Britain and of Germany would be behind any action that should bring us into sharp discussion with Russia. We are not bound to take any nation's chestnuts out of the fire, but when it happens that we have a duty to rebuke a wrong and defend the weak, it ought to be satisfactory to remember that our action is in the line of our international interests. Policy, in this case, coincides with humanity, and we are in a position to weight our words in Russia with the certain knowledge, which Russia has that the two world powers that stand most directly opposed to her national ambitions are ready to applaud our action to the echo. Let it be conceded that neither of these two great powers are entirely disinterested in their willingness to have us take issues with Russia, nevertheless it counts for something that they would be with us in a protest against the persecution of the Jews. There would be nothing more salutary for Russia than to know that the world speaks on this matter

with a single voice, no matter what selfish interests may happen to be involved.

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To humanity, the demand of the right, and the dictate of policy, it happens that we can add the force of precedent, if we make a representation to Russia. We are still suffering in purse, and in the memory of brave men sacrificed, because we made representations and demands to Spain, and enforced them with arms. Thus far it has been wholly a path of sacrifice. We have lost money and lives in behalf of humanity, and we still have on our hands the severe and expensive problem of unassimilated islands to drain our resources for many years to come with no adequate return to anticipate. We have paid a large price to establish the principle that we have a right to interfere with another nation in behalf of humanity.

If a more recent case were wanted, Mr. Hay's Roumanian note furnishes a still more applicable precedent.* It was on the ground of humanity, as a

* "In August, 1902, protest was made against the persecution of the Jews in Roumania on the double ground of humanity

first reason, that Mr. Hay placed the emphasis of his protest. But in Roumania human life had not been sacrificed, and at the utmost it was a question that Roumania might have believed entirely within her own sphere of judgment. In the present case unspeakable atrocities have been committed, and thus far Russia has not satisfied anybody that adequate measures are to be taken to prevent more atrocities. If this episode passes without actually calling forth any powerful national protest, the Czar,

and self-interest—the latter being aroused by the forced migration to our shores of poverty-stricken Jews to whom their native land was being made a hell.

Well, humanity has surely been outraged in Russia even more horribly than in Roumania, and refugees from Kishineff are already beginning to arrive among us. When these pioneers are followed by the scores of thousands who, within a few months, will flock to this refuge of the oppressed, in what manner will the situation differ from that which existed when less than a year ago Secretary Hay nobly raised his voice to denounce the baseness and cruelty of Roumania?

Was there any dissent anywhere in this Republic when Mr. Hay then spoke in behalf of the persecuted?

Has he, or the President, reason now to fear that there would be dissent should he say to Russia what he said to Roumania?"

—N. Y. *American*, May 28, 1903.

knowing very well that such a protest has been widely demanded by the popular voice, may well conclude that the United States will continue quiescent as to the Russian policy that is represented by the Pale of Settlement and the persecution of Jews. Russia is not a power to be brushed with a feather. If you do not use a club Russia knows nothing about what the world thinks, and cares nothing. It measures the newspaper of America by the newspaper of Russia, where everything that is not agreeable to the censor gets Siberiaized, and where as a consequence the press that is thus gagged carries no emphasis of the people's sentiment. The Czar does not suspect that in America the press represents the sovereignty of the people, and that when the press speaks, as it has so unanimously spoken since Kishineff, it means that the American people are aroused. If Russia knew this, or could understand it, no government protest would be needed. But Russia brushes all that away. It is a feather, and not a club. But a plain word from the government is another matter. Russia as little

understands our government as she understands our press. But, in this case also, she measures us by her own standards. With Russia, government is everything, and a word from the government is decisive and final. It is thunder in the sky, it is the voice of autocracy. If the American Government, always imagined as something having authority, should speak, and speak plainly, that would not be a feather, it would be a club, and Russia would understand it.

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The spark of conflagration lighted at Kishineff is a danger to every Jew in Russia. Jewish victims of the logic of process in Russia feel no security from any protective measures of the government. Whatever check the storm of the world's protests may have now for a time interposed, the future remains as the past, and the Jew still has to live under the unjust laws that invite the Russian to despise, and degrade and persecute him.

In these circumstances a representation to Russia should take note first of Kishineff. It should accept

the suave assurance of the government that two hundred of the mob have been arrested, but it should inquire what proportion of those arrested are Jews. The peasantry of Kishineff, the common mob of the streets, no doubt need a strong example. But admitting this, our government should not for a moment forego the privilege of inquiring as to the bands of agitators, who, by every account received, came to Kishineff with plans prepared against the Jews. It is one thing to punish the peasants, in pursuit of the Russian intention to represent the outbreak as a matter of antipathy between the peasants and the Jews, and to assume that the Jews, as usurers and as having taken the initiative, are primarily to blame. It is quite a different thing to let the real instigators escape, and the condition remain as they are ready for another outbreak. An inquiry from this government, in the name of humanity, would be inadequate if it did not suggest such measures of justice as would indicate the policy of Russia to stamp out outrage upon and persecution of the Jews.

But the present incident is not one to be treated as if it were an isolated outbreak, however it may have horrified mankind. It is time for the civilized world to inquire (and America may write the interrogation point better than any other power) what the Czar means to do with the Jews of Russia? The government dispatch to the *Christian Herald*, appended to the previous chapter, announces that the government does not intend to grant any farther rights to the Jews. That announcement should be condemned. Russia should be made to understand that, in view of Kishineff, what she will do with her Jews has become a world concern, and that the United States at any rate will not approve, and will protest sternly against, the present treatment of Jews in the empire. The Pale of Settlement is a menace to the lives of Jews. The entire code and collection of special laws against the Jews, is an instruction in persecution, if not in assassination. The condition of the Jews, under these oppressive laws, is the advertisement that they are not to be treated as other men. The government does not

treat them as it treats other men, and the peasant certainly follows the precept and the example that he sees before him. When this precept and example lead straight to the Easter massacre, and render human life unsafe among five millions of the human family, such example and such precept become the first business of mankind. To represent these facts to Russia in a way to inform her that Americans cannot easily be friendly with a power that maintains such inhumanity, would be no stretch of divine prerogative, when done in the interests of the higher laws of humanity.

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When the American people are merely posing, they indulge in a great deal of talk for the benefit of the European galleries. Uncle Sam has a considerable reputation for braggadocio, in various quarters of the world. But it has somehow happened that the national optimism has never been greatly put to shame in the result. That is because of the tremendous idealism, belonging to the Anglo-Saxon temperament in general, and to the American most

of all. The American combines with his practical sense and enterprise, that make him more industrious than the Chinese, dreams more magnificent than those of the Indian sages. This combination of qualities, combined with the quickest and finest nerves ever possessed by any great national type, constitute him a being who seems to the stolid and slower working peoples a creature of vast impulse. His action is often as if he did not take note of consequences at all. The fact is that he grasps realities in such a fashion that his consequences are realized in his first initiative. He goes on doing what seems good to him to do, doing it quickly and forcibly, without any doubt that it will come out well. This is a characteristic of a true idealism, and the American, intuitive as to his highest interests, does not find it always necessary to forecast the effects.

But we are not unmindful of consequences, after all. We would approach the Russian Government without the question as to what will come of it. But that is because we see beforehand that only good

could come of it. We have the faith in a right course to understand that, and we feel strong enough to make a right course succeed. Russia would treat a protest from us differently to-day, from what would have been the case ten years ago. The statesmen of Russia have grasped, long ago, a fact that many Americans are still slow to see, that the Pacific coast of Asia lies opposite a world power, and that commercial interests in China make us a force to be reckoned with. Russia has against her already the two greatest of European nations. She would go far, and use much Oriental diplomacy, and even perhaps actually keep some of her promises, before she would break with the rising nation that she must deal with on her Pacific borders. We might demand relief for the Jews with ever so bald a threat, the Czar would not find it to his interest to resent it, nor entirely to evade it. If we demanded much we would stand some chance of getting a little.

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Or, if we were keeping a weather eye out toward the good opinions and friendly offices of Great

Britain and Germany, and of all the remainder of civilized mankind, indeed, we might reflect that the world has known of our course in Cuba. They expect America to do such things. We have made ourselves a kind of world champion for oppressed peoples, and no one will be displeased if we admonish Russia, and even constrain her to grant relief to her Jews. There has been a mighty advance of the sentiment of brotherhood in the world, in the recent years, and whatever political selfishness may intervene, Englishmen, and Germans, and Frenchmen, and people of all races, have learned some of the modern lessons of humanity. The great common people of every land would hail America with acclaim were she to speak to Russia in that common tongue that all men understand—the language of mercy and of justice.

But there is another effect which we ought to consider diligently. In that dark land of Russia, besides the Jews, there is a great suppressed element, represented in part by Tolstoi, and men of his principles, who belong at heart with the democratic

forces of the world. They are in Siberian mines, and in hiding from the police, circulating their pamphlets in secret, that are printed on presses built underground, whispering passwords in fear and trembling in their secret assemblies, and waiting the time of a possible revolution. They constitute the brain, the ability, and the democratic values of Russia. If they were in America they would be much like the remainder of us. They are secret revolutionists in Russia mostly because they are disciples of light in a land of ignorance and superstition. They themselves, like the Jews of Russia, are under the ban of laws that stifle their free breath, and make life horrible.

If from this free land they could hear Russia's logic of process impeached, in a way to begin reform of Russian abuses, and an overthrow of Russia's oppression, it would spread hope and courage among them. In a common lot of suffering, they have brotherhood with oppressed Jews, and some of them are Jews. Why should not this great democratic people use the present opportunity to

lighten the weight of the Bear's paw on the neck of the liberty-loving elements of Russia?

The best effect altogether of a strong American protest to Russia, and especially if it could properly circulate in Russia, would be upon the people of that land, and especially upon the ruling classes. The defense of autocracy in Russia has always been that it accords with the character of the Russian people. It is necessary, according to this theory, in order to any effective government at all. Very likely there is truth in this assumption. But autocracy on such a theory would be eternally self-perpetuating. The people never have had an opportunity to test any other kind of government. The circle remains complete, that is comprised of a ruling class who exercise their prerogative to keep the people where they are, and of a people who thus are ingrained and educated perpetually to the idea that autocracy is the only possible mode of welfare for them.

The only chance of breaking that circle, if we except the suppressed efforts of the revolutionary minority, must come from without. Nothing could

be better for Russia, and at last for mankind, than the exercise and circulation in Russia of an American idea. If an assumption in diplomacy, by a great people like America, that a Jew is precisely as good as a Russian, proved a shock of surprise at first, and should stir ferments among a people with whom now a Jew and a dog are much the same, it will nevertheless be remembered that a great government thinks that a Jew is better than a dog, and deserves better treatment. That will be an American idea in Russia, and it will have behind it the potency of a power that faces west from three thousand miles of coast upon Russia's whole scheme of empire on the opposite headlands. The circulation of a few such ideas, for a few decades, will be liable to convince the brutal ruling classes of Russia that something besides autocracy is possible even in that land. It will be an assertion of American principles, carried with the force, not of the feather, but of the club.

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There are narrow methods of expediency that run

along the line of present conditions, or present exigencies, and there are also broad, deep and far-sighted methods, that take into consideration the final racial and universal facts and forces. The policy of a great nation like our own cannot wisely be shaped according to the political expediency that lies in present conditions merely. It must be shaped if it is to stand and prosper as the mariner at sea, on the wide bosom of the deep, steers his ship—by the motion of the stars, and by the fixed lights far away. A few things, and those of a very temporal sort, may to-day make our national policy run easily beside that of Russia. But if we are steering by the fixed lights far away, we may discover that our course runs in quite the opposite direction. Norman, in his “All the Russias,” remarks upon the incongruity of the alliance between France and Russia, which he calls a concert between autocracy and democracy. There may be doubts about the extreme democracy of France, but what shall we think of a concert between Russia and the United States? If ever there was a contrast drawn to its

extreme lines between two great ideas, it is drawn in lines of racial and temperamental fact between the Russian and the American people. If ever two forms of government were opposed, antithetical, contradictory, they are the Russian and the American forms. If ever there was pointed out an impossibility in the natural and basal facts of human nature, in the dispositions, traits and feelings of two races, it is to be found in the notion that Russia and America can act together for the welfare of man. In the broad, deep, lasting policies, according to which this country may develop her intent for the welfare of man, Russia cannot share. In the fatalistic, despotic and autocratic policy that rules that empire certainly America can never share.* Our only

* "The Russian of to-day has nothing in common with the United States, and she would, if she could, caviar our Declaration of Independence out of existence and wipe liberty from the face of the globe. The graphic forecast of her policy by England's greatest diplomatist, Stratford Canning, is verified in our day:


"Rome of old extended its sway by conquest, but wherever its eagles flew the arts of civilization followed. The Russian bird of prey has no such commission. It turns, indeed, toward

lasting relation with Russia, in a future course that follows the fixed lights far away, must be that of her instructor, and reformer. Let us begin the work by a ringing word against her persecution of the Jews.

the sun, but the shadows of its wings is blighting, and moral desolation closes upon its flight.'"—Hon. Oscar S. Straus, statement to the press.

Chapter IX

International Issues

N a treatment of the Eastern Question, which I contributed to the *New York Commercial Advertiser* some six years ago, I had occasion to indicate the natural place of the United States in the future alignment of the nations. The events of history since that time have only served to confirm and strengthen the views which I then expressed. The conclusion was then reached that Russia is the one great world power against which the democratic civilizations of the earth are destined more and more to combine. This opinion has since been endorsed by observers like Captain Mahan and Benjamin Ide Wheeler, and has become the prevailing English view among men who watch with humanitarian solicitude the developments in the Farther East.

To those who believe in the unity of the human

race, and look for a future brotherhood of nations and of men, the Slav appears as the most difficult factor in the political world problem. Brutality, duplicity, and tenacity combine in the Slavic character, in a way to mark it as an Oriental factor rather than an Occidental. The Oriental duplicity, veiling in ambiguous and affable terminology the most sinister intents, when it belongs to the Chinese, or the Turk, does not carry with it any considerable menace to the world's peace and progress, because it is not united to any organic and formidable power, able to make it a world policy. Quite otherwise is it with Russian duplicity. It is impossible to estimate too unfavorably the danger that lies in a great world power that will not tell the truth.*

It happens in the present possibilities that lie before the world since the outbreak in China, and

* Amicable relations are impossible with a nation whose agents on every outpost or contested field act without much scruple on their own initiative, while the central authority is usually ready to profit by their indiscretions while ostensibly repudiating them.—Comment on Russian methods in Norman's "All the Russias," p. 437. (Chas. Scribner's Sons).

the new advance of Russia to the Pacific through the occupancy of Manchuria, that the duplicity of Russia is one of the most powerful portents of her future supremacy in the East. There is no other great power on earth so completely adapted to deal with China in terms that are entirely familiar to the genius of Chinese diplomacy and the Chinese character, as Russia. In the matter of phrasing promises that were never meant to be fulfilled, of announcing policies that are the opposite of that which is intended, of polite mendacity in the whole method of diplomacy the Russian and the Chinese are at one. For a quick method of dealing satisfactorily with a people who are to be subjected or assimilated no other power can enter China, with the oil of mendacity lubricating every joint of the diplomatic process, so easily as Russia. Her touch is perfectly familiar. Her brutality is the expected thing. An interchange of falsehood and a final constraint of armies, is an argument that would more easily bring China under Slavic control, than all the

straightforward dealing of the truth-loving Anglo-Saxon diplomacy.

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The Chinese and the Russians are no more certain than the remainder of the civilized world that the great Bear, sitting with his back against the ice wall, means to control the empire of China. While it is of the natural disposition of the American and the Englishmen to believe what they are told, and to trust to the truthfulness of men, they have not been extensively deceived by the pretenses of Russia as to Manchuria. They are not uncertain as to the main intentions of Russia in the East. The situation, indeed, remains untouched, so long as the international concert, and the international ambitions are not disturbed. The question of humanity, the ethical questions always in history have waited upon innumerable material considerations. Thus the United States, having interests in China, and also in Russia, of a purely commercial nature, we only hear of some soft policy of "the open door," while Russia goes steadily along, fixing a Kishineff policy

upon the weaker empire of China, and extending her logic of process eastward and southward.* That is only because God's hour has not struck. The United States is very likely to come to a moment when the balance of interests will fall heavily against a Russian policy for China, and then the ethical and Christian considerations will get considered.

The advantage of Russia in her aggression is very great. She is the only great power that does not have to defend her lines of retreat. The ice and

* The following from the *Saturday Evening Post* is a slight indication of the fashion in which American opinion is formed along the line of a sole consideration for the almighty dollar of trade, without regard for the humanitarian interests, and ethical duties of the nation:

"It is highly improbable that our Government will interfere with Russia's age-old program. England will hardly be able to persuade us that we ought to spend thousands of millions of money and thousands of precious American lives in promoting her Asiatic interests. No matter what flag flies over any part of Asia, we shall get our legitimate share of the trade there, just as we are to-day getting our share—and a very big share—of the trade of the various European countries. Your Uncle Samuel gives his undivided attention to keeping the best kind of a general store he knows how to keep; and he doesn't send soldiers but drummers out to gather in the orders."

the climate do that. She cannot be attacked from the rear. She has only to erect her shaggy front and face south. Whoever stays her way must always face north, and meet her by land. The Cossack troops, and the soldiers that ravaged Warsaw, are her formidable vanguard of invasion. She is already on the Chinese border. In Manchuria she already possesses a position from which all the allied armies of Europe would find it hard to dislodge her.

Thibet and Siberia, with their vast populations, subject to the sweeping conscription provisions of the realm, lie between European Russia and her seat of operation in the East, and while this makes her work more difficult, it also makes her more secure from attack. She can live at home and await her chance. Siberia alone would furnish ample troops to defend her from invasion, and would be ready for massing forces, and making movements southward, which no power depending on the sea for transport could anticipate or easily turn back.

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The question whether the policy of despotism, of duplicity, of brute force, as unenlightened on the whole as the forces of the Middle Ages, shall fix and control the fortunes of the vast empire of China, concerns and tremendously concerns all Christendom. We need be in no doubt as to the character of that proposed dominion. Kishineff may be the extreme method and gauge by which to compute it, but the whole character, the entire logic of process, that marks Russia as a brutal despotism, make certain the barbaric and cruel character of a Russian control of China.

This question is the larger part of the whole Far Eastern question, which promise to be the dominant issue among the civilized powers for the Twentieth Century. So vast are the populations to be affected by it, so intricately are trade interests implicated, so completely does the advancement of Christian ideas depend upon it, that it bears the aspect of a critical issue as to the future of the whole race of man. No more unspeakable mis-

fortune, perhaps could befall the hopes of Christian peoples, than a Slavic domination, fixed for coming centuries upon four hundred millions of the human race. It is not at all certain that Russian dominion would make these people any worse, morally and spiritually than they are to-day, but it would greatly hinder the progress of the democratic and Christian powers in any effort to make them better. Russia is more brutal than China, but not more ignorant. If it were the mere question of leaving China to her own darkness, as compared with the question whether Russia should rule there, it might be difficult to decide which of two evil alternatives would be least harmful. But no one who has studied Russia, and also China, will doubt that the latter empire is far more easily molded, and far better conditioned to receive the instruction, and yield under the humane touch of Christianity and its institutions, than Russia. Thus far Russia has maintained a form of Christianity that is absolute paganism, beside which the religions of China

are far preferable. It would be greatly easier to Christianize the whole of China than to change the superstitions, and enlighten the ignorance, and break down the bigotry of the Holy Orthodox Church of Russia. The Holy Orthodox Church, and the Slavic character fit each other like hand and glove. Very probably they must both be left to work out their destiny, in the midst of the growing light of human development. No one seriously proposes to invade Russia with any great movement. The course of the world's movements politically, and the plans of Christendom as to the progress of man do not look that way.

But with China the case is far different. There is to be an invasion of China. Her wall of separation is to be broken down, and that very soon. Christianity, and the Christian powers of the world will more and more attempt to develop her resources, and mold her future civilization. It will not be hard to regenerate China, and make her a garden, and a land of progress, provided Russia does not get there first. It is, therefore, the proper serious task

of the democratic powers of the earth to see to it that Russia does not get there first.*

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There are three great progressive world powers that are both democratic and Christian, in whose hands this task should be done. They are the United States, Great Britain and Germany. If smaller Teutonic powers, like the Netherlands, and German elements of Austria, are properly included in a world scheme that shall unite the forces of democracy, it remains that the three nations I have named control democratic peoples, and have the full ability for this task.

General Grant in his day, declared that the Latin nations are dying. In the alignment of powers, France and Italy would be doubtful and unknown factors. Latin States have not lost the imperial instinct. It is not to be said without qualification that the French Revolution was a movement of

* General Wilson, famous in the Civil War for his great cavalry raids, being asked what was his plan of campaign, said: "To get there first with the most men."

democracy, and it is not to be said that the French disposition is of a piece with the spirit that made England and Germany Protestant, and inspired William of Orange to his struggle for the freedom of the Netherlands. The French masses react on impulse against conditions that oppress them, but they do not conduct world struggles for the freedom of man. There is probably greater natural affinity between France and Russia than between France and any democratic power. And what is true in this respect of France is true in a modified sense of Italy.

Of a radically different type are the elements of Teutonic and of Anglo-Saxon character, that run back to the same original mold. From the day when the brave tribes of the forests and swamps of Belgic Gaul, and the German hordes of the Rhine and the Rhone, resisted Cæsar's marches, and proved themselves the only powers that could stay the advance of the disciplined Romans, and win the praise of Cæsar himself, this stock has refused to be slaves. In the breaking up of the Roman power it

was this stock that established free cities, and formed progressive petty kingdoms and states. In England, successive conquests of foreign forces did not change the democracy of the people, and England became self-governing by popular protest, and by perpetual resistance to the successive rulers who tried to establish autocracy. The concessions wrested from King John by his nobles were only a symptom in a long assertion of the right of man to self-government, that has resulted at this day in a country even more democratic in all its procedure than our own republic.

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In the present outlook of the United States, there are two surface symptoms that more or less deceive the mind. The patriot forecasting the future greatness of this country, may have some concern as to these symptoms, but by so much as "blood is thicker than water" we shall not proceed on the assumptions they indicate. I refer to the anti-British sentiment, partly due to the presence of a considerable Irish population, and to the anti-German sentiment that

seems lately to divert the imagination of the American Jingo. If I were to name a third symptom, which I believe to be false to the great body of American opinion, it would be the readiness of some to assert the stale fact of Russian friendliness to the United States.* These are all sporadic signs, that do not represent the convictions of Americans.

These incidental symptoms overlie, and sometimes obscure an order of fact so entirely at variance

*The American people have frequently made public profession of their friendliness for Russia, which Russia, needless to say, has cordially accepted, for who would not accept such a gift. But the whole belief is a political soap bubble, a bright film of ether. Russia likes to appear a friend of the United States because the effect is to postpone any coöperation of England and America in world affairs.—Norman's "All the Russias," p. 409.

"Whenever Russian horrors reach American ears we constantly hear about the long-standing friendship between Russia and the United States. If we look beneath the surface, which is so necessary when Russia is concerned, we will find that underlying courtesies to our naval officers and profuse diplomatic professions of friendship, will be found a purpose to accentuate hostility toward England."—Hon. Oscar S. Straus, statement to the press.

with them, that the surface signs presently become utterly insignificant to the man who reads aright this great world order. Under every kind of incidental divergence, remains the great persisting truth of the essential blood unity, and the consequent identical interests of these three great world powers. They are one by the providence and plan of God, and the providence and plan of God sends them forward together for his work of uplifting and liberating mankind. To talk of making war on Germany, is to talk of dividing the best natural unities of blood and brain and virtue there is in the world.

He reads the signs of these times to little purpose who supposes that the slight ebullitions of autocratic assumption by Kaiser Wilhelm have altered, or can alter, the democratic spirit of Teutonic Germany. They may provoke reactions of socialism, and they might happen to furnish the spark for a European conflagration, if steady sober sense did not characterize the great German people. Germany has no autocrat, and no Kaiser can con-

strain the disposition and character of that empire. I think it was the great and noble grandsire of the present Emperor who had a chance to demonstrate to the world that a Kaiser cannot even touch the beer stein of the peasant without danger to his throne. The German may love his beer, but he was not, on that occasion, defending his beer. He was defending his freedom, and warning the Emperor that the people are greater than the throne. The German is at one with the American in maintaining his freedom, in practicing democracy, in promoting the liberties and the progress of mankind. He is at one with the American in resisting oppression, in repudiating ignorance and superstition, and in upholding the Christian religion. He is still more thoroughly at one with us in the enterprise of commerce and trade, in educating his children, and in cultivating the inventions of science and the utilities of civilization.

These interests are not mere incidents, they are essential and wide-reaching and pervasive facts, and this unity of interests, based to a great extent on

similarity of blood and instincts of race, form a basis of national friendship that is very broad and very deep. The United States of America and the United States of Germany are natural friends, because they are, so to speak of the same family, and have largely the same concerns and the same disposition.

It would be worth while to consider also that we are allied with Germany in our affections by the presence here of so many of her people. The German-American leaves no antipathies behind him. He conceives a love for America without any divorce from his love for Germany. He constitutes a middle term of intercourse, that ought forever to make war between the two nations impossible. The embarrassment of the United States, from the presence here of so great a number of Germans, who might be required to choose between two allegiances, in case of a war, would be a great deterrant to the beginning of hostilities.

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No serious-minded student of international poli-

cies anticipates a disturbance of the peaceful relations that exist between the United States and Great Britain. Between these two world powers the understanding grows more sympathetic, and the concert of interest more nearly identical. Our daughters are in the households of England's peers, even in the royal households, and ties of blood and race unite these two great peoples, who have almost forgotten the unpleasantness of their separation. Of all this mention does not have to be made, in considering the natural alignment of the world powers for future dominion.

The alliance of the United States with these two great world powers, may well be predicted as the providential method of solving the Far Eastern question. They are able to introduce democracy into China. With it they are able to acquaint that empire with the principles of truth and directness in international diplomacy, that made this country respected and beloved in China, in the days of the recent outbreak. These three great powers not only may prevent the partition of China, they may

prevent Russian dominion. Working together they may permeate that vast empire with democratic ideas, and with the spirit of Christianity. They may make a way for Occidental education, and the humanities of an Occidental civilization. And all this may follow inevitably the march of trade, and the inpushing of the locomotive, the electric inventions, the fabrics and cereals and metals that make up the commercial staples of mercantile enterprise.

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The American note of inquiry as to the intentions of Russia in Manchuria, was met by the usual denial by the Czar's government. To the ordinary observer this byplay of diplomacy looks very much like a case of examining the lock on the door after the horse has been stolen. Russia could hardly be any more in control of Manchuria than she now actually is. When does Mr. Hay expect her to withdraw?*

This small incident indicates that even the official mind is aware that the United States has the Rus-

* To all appearance the evil is done. Russia virtually has Manchuria.—Norman, "All the Russias," p. 415.

sian advance to watch, and that our interests are involved. Whether singly, or in alliance with her natural friends, this great American people will sooner or later accentuate Mr. Hay's query to the Russian Government, by a challenge to Russia to let China alone. This will happen whenever the people and government of the United States fully awake to the fact that close diplomacy, and intimate relations, with a power that will not tell the truth, are impossible to Americans. The Russian reply to the American inquiry has made all Europe smile, and the London *Times* seems to be justified in characterizing it as a formal diplomacy that does not interfere with Russia's progress in fixing herself securely in her position. The American inquiry needs repeating.

Connecting it with President Roosevelt's announcement of our superior position in the Pacific, we may guess that our friendliness with Russia, has not prevented us from warning her in time that the United States has become one of the world powers that will have a voice in the disposition of China.

The control of the Pacific by a power that has three thousand miles of coast, that is nearer over an unobstructed way to the shores of Asia than an army of European Russia, and that may account itself the second naval power of the world, is no dream of the future.

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It has seemed to some trading citizens that German measures for excluding American pork are a cause for breeding trouble with Germany. It has seemed to others that certain Irish legislation of the past, make us offended, with cause, against Great Britain. But while some Americans are magnifying these incidents, has it occurred to them that our political outlook has been entirely changed. The American outlook is no longer toward German trade and English trade. We have these, and we shall continue to have them. But the future prosperity of the United States as a nation of traders and carriers is, and is to be, toward the Farther East, by the route that looks to the west. The new note struck by our President is the most significant

uttered since the Spanish war by any statesman on either side of the ocean. And the outlook to the Farther East, by the westward route, is the most important projection of the American ambition for the Twentieth Century. That ambition must be adjusted conformably with the proper claims of our natural allies, and always with the intent of keeping the great Bear back within his land of ice. That new outlook, opened by the inevitable intent of the United States to hold a superior place in the Pacific, brings immediately to the front our relations with Russia. We, more directly than any other nation, are destined to deal with this dark autocracy of duplicity and brutality.

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Russia with her back to the ice wall is a mighty power by land. She is weakest in the direction of her greatest ambition. Seaports on southern borders are Russia's aim. There has been a time when the Persian Gulf* seemed an open way to her

* Germany has deliberately placed herself athwart Russian policy in each of the three paths along which Russian statesmen

southward marching ambitions. That possibility has steadily dwindled. Her alternative is the Pacific coast through a control of China.

Within her borders, backed by the frigid poles of the earth, this vast despotism may flourish for centuries, perhaps. At all events, it is not to be endangered by armed forces. But when Russia touches the sea, the case is at once altered. The Anglo-Saxon powers control the pathways of the seas. Great Britain could not march to Moscow, and have an army left, but Great Britain could blockade every port of the Pacific, and have a navy left to batter all the Atlantic defenses of Russia to pieces. Great Britain alone controls, or may control, the situation in the Farther East, through a possible control of the coast. The United States, having identical interests, would be as well served by a British navy in the Pacific as if our own were there. Together, these two powers can say whether

desire their country should enjoy unimpeded progress. The three paths lie in the Far East, the Near East, and toward the Persian Gulf.—Norman, "All the Russias," p. 397.

or not Russia shall hold her position in Manchuria, about which she politely—makes her customary answer, while she strengthens herself day by day.

The United States, set opposite China, with only the open sea between, has every interest in the future of that great populous land. We are the only country that can supply her cotton, and the country that can most easily send her iron and steel. It would mean something for the United States to control the Chinese commerce. It would mean that we should develop that commerce by educating the masses of China to Occidental wants, in schools and in social contact, and in missionary enterprises, that would conjoin with commercial interests the moral and religious interests. From the humanitarian point of view, an open door, however guaranteed by Russia would only be, and continue to be, an open door to a degraded and enslaved population. The Chinese market is going to be worth precisely what Americans and Europeans make it worth, by the uplifting of the masses of Chinese people to something near the level of the American and European

scale of need. Whether Russia keeps an open door or not, is of comparatively small consequence. If Russia rules in China, her populations will never, under Russia's Government, become a buying people, or afford a market for the products of civilization. The Yankee may look at the present opportunity, but the statesman will look at the future. For the future, it means a vast disadvantage to commercial America for Russia to control the Chinese civilization.

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What is the sum of all this talk about the friendliness of Russia? Is there any affinity between Russia and America? Is it possible for America, meaning the United States, to maintain close terms of national friendship with a people absolutely opposed to us in everything that makes government desirable? Here is a power that invites and makes inevitable the massacres of her best populations, and cannot well understand why we make trouble about it. Have we any hand of friendship for a government that officially announces that

it will not give five million of her subjects the rights of men?

Diplomatically, all the powers of the world hasten to do homage to the United States, since the Spanish war, and the assertion of our place as a world power. But Russia must be well aware that the success of a democracy like our own is a constant menace to government within her borders. Every intelligent agitator in Russia, who labors for the destruction of the government, looks to this land for his inspiration, for his funds, for his hope of refuge if he must flee for his life. When Hartmann had fired his shot at Alexander II, all the police in the great cities of the United States were set on the *qui vive* to watch the associations of Russians who had come to this land. It still remains uncertain whether the plot was not hatched on this side of the water.

Be that as it may, American democracy, the American idea, is a fermenting force in Russia. Americans do not approve the force reply of the assassin, nor the hatred of the violent anarchist; but Americans know very well that they and Russia still

more, suffer from the contrast that these men draw between the two types of government. Anarchists are bred in Russia, whatever crimes they afterward may commit in America.

Thus on the one hand, the oppressions of Russia send us elements of danger, to vex our peace, and on the other her own agitators draw their inspiration from the American refugee, and from the free democracy of our institutions. That they abuse this idea makes the situation all the worse. So far as Russia is concerned, if she means to maintain Siberia for political offenders, if she means to oppress her Jews, if she means to perpetuate her barbarisms, and stifle her press, and deport her educated free thinkers, then she will find America always a thorn in her side, and there will be no lasting and deep seated friendship between us. Russia, at heart, will not wish us prosperity; she will more and more wish that we and our democracy were annihilated. We stand over against her dark and brutal government as a menace and a reproach, and at any hour her barbarities may provoke incidents that will show how

hollow is all our talk about trade relations and friendly feeling with Russia.

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Is it not the duty of the United States to initiate the movement in the Farther East that shall result in democratic control of China? And, if it is, then the sooner we make good the prediction of President Roosevelt, that we are to hold a superior place in the Pacific, the better for mankind. We have a base but six hundred miles from Hong Kong, and another in the Hawaiian Islands. The ports of Oregon and Puget Sound face the Chinese coast, but two weeks or three weeks distant. Great Britain would only be better served in all her interests by American control of the situation, because no sane American administration would think of dividing the interests of the two great Anglo-Saxon powers. Competition in trade there may well be, but it will go along with competition in advancing the civilization of China in everything that has made these two nations great and powerful in the earth.

The first step in the process of controlling the

Farther East should bring us up squarely against the ambitions of the Bear. The democratic powers ought not to conceal their intention to keep Russia within her own arctic boundaries. Manchuria should be taken out of her hands. She should be given to understand that the American note has the imperative of American demand not far behind it. If Russia is able to enter China with her trade in equality with other nations, let that be demonstrated in a fair competition, based on the democratic principle of fair play and no favors. Above all, let it be understood explicitly that we will not tolerate a Kishineff policy, or a government for China that places the masses of that empire under the heel of the forces that have made Kishineff inevitable.


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Let us pause in our trading long enough to consider whether we have no duty to humanity, in our dealings with Russia. We are to have our share, and it should be a directing and deciding share, in the fate of the great, poverty-stricken, ignorant, poor

and helpless men and women of the Chinese Empire. Behind us is a long and honorable record of the humane policy of government, that freed our slaves, and took the yoke from the neck of Cuba. We have not feared, in past days, to speak and act against great powers, in behalf of oppressed peoples. If there ever was a crisis when much depended on our right action in behalf of humanity, it exists now in our relation to Russia and the peoples whom she seeks to misgovern. It may not be that the time to make final declaration has yet come. But the time has come for the American people to understand where our natural alliances are, and what policy shall best be shaped, against the day that is approaching, when we shall have to align ourselves on the issues that are gathering for solution. We ought to understand that our allies of blood, race and disposition, are the democratic powers, and not the despotism that sits in darkness behind the horrors of Kishineff.

Chapter X

Addenda : American Notes and Comments

HE Kishineff massacre was a signal for a vast outpouring of American sentiment. In most of the principal cities of the United States great public meetings were held, and in many of these meetings emphatic resolutions were adopted, condemning the perpetrators, and calling on the United States to protest. Much of the expression thus called forth has historical importance. All phases of the situation have been discussed, and ideas have been advanced that seem to represent an average American opinion. In the comment gathered up in this chapter, the aim has been to select the best and most nearly representative utterances of individuals and of the press, as a means of thus preserving the most important of the material brought to the front by the occasion. In addition to the matter collated from the current press, opin-

ions have been gathered directly from prominent men of all shades of opinion. The fact that most of these letters and extracts touch upon more than one phase of the subject, has made it inexpedient to classify them under any analytical arrangement. They have therefore been inserted without much regard to the arrangement of the subject matter.

Taken altogether these comments indicate a deep and powerful sentiment of humanity in behalf of the oppressed and persecuted Jews of Russia; a broad and tolerant American spirit towards all oppressed peoples; a strong disapproval of Russia in her policy as to her Jewish population; a desire that the United States shall voice officially the sentiments of the people by a representation to the Russian Government; and a feeling of welcome to the refugees who come to our shores.

“If the Jew is a Good American That is All We Ask.” — THEODORE ROSEVELT, President of the United States.

“I need not dwell upon a fact so patent as the widespread indignation with which the American

people heard of the dreadful outrages upon the Jews in Kishineff. I have never in my experience in this country known of a more immediate or a deeper expression of sympathy for the victims and of horror over the appalling calamity that had occurred.

“It is natural that while the whole civilized world should express such a feeling, it should yet be most intense and widespread in the United States; for of all the great powers I think I may say that the United States is that country in which from the beginning of its national career, most has been done in the way of acknowledging the debt due to the Jewish race, and of endeavoring to do justice to those American citizens who are of Jewish ancestry and faith.

“One of the most touching poems of our own great poet Longfellow is that on the Jewish cemetery in Newport, and any one who goes through any of the old cemeteries of the cities which preserve the records of colonial times will see the name of many an American of Jewish race who, in war or in peace, did his full share in the founding of this nation. From that day to this, from the day when the Jews of Charleston, of Philadelphia, of New York supported the patriot cause and helped in every way, not only by money, but by arms, Washington and his colleagues who were founding this Republic—from that day to the present we have had no struggle, military or civil, in which there have not

been citizens of Jewish faith who played an eminent part for the honor and credit of the nation.

“I remember once Gen. Howard mentioning to me the fact that two of his brigade commanders upon whom he had placed special reliance were Jews. Among the meetings of the Grand Army which I have attended one stands out with peculiar vividness—a meeting held under the auspices of the men of the Grand Army of Jewish creed in the temple in Forty-fourth Street—Temple Emanu-El—to welcome the returned veterans of the Spanish-American war of Jewish faith.

“When in Santiago, when I was myself in the army, one of the best colonels among the regular regiments who did so well on that day and who fought beside me was a Jew. One of the commanders of the ships which in the blockade of the Cuban coast did so well was a Jew.

“In my own regiment I promoted five men from the ranks for valor and good conduct in battle. It happened by pure accident, for I knew nothing of the faith of any one of them, that these included two Protestants, two Catholics, and one Jew; and while that was a pure accident, it was not without its value as an illustration of the ethnic and religious make-up of our Nation and of the fact that if a man is a good American that is all we ask, without thinking of his creed or his birthplace.”

“I am in Favor of Informing Our Government of Our Deep Condemnation.”—GROVER CLEVELAND.

“I do not say that the Russian Government may not by sins of commission or omission be justly deserving of our condemnation, but we should not be swift to assume this, when we remember that we ourselves have found it impossible to prevent mob violence and murderous assaults upon the Chinese in Wyoming and Italians in New Orleans. I am distinctly and unequivocally in favor of informing our Government in unmistakable terms of our indignant and deep condemnation of the late outrages upon the Jews in Russia, but I hope that in obedience to the dictates of American conservatism and moderation, which are never long obscured, we may be even now just and fair, and that we will be content to forego perplexing and extreme demands upon our government for violent action.”

“We Will Know You are Guiltless when the Feet of Justice are Swift.”—EDWARD M. SHEPHERD.

“It was a Jew, and a Christian, who told us that God had made of one blood all the nations of men, to dwell in all the earth, and so it is when this dreadful record of an Easter Day came to us from under the ocean, we saw, we heard, and we knew that one touch of nature makes the whole world kin.

“The misery, the hardships, or the ostracism of

the Jew in Kishineff or the Jew anywhere else, or, for that matter, the men of any other race or creed, is my care, it is your care, and it ought to be the care of every nation. The true note of civilization is one note the whole world over, whether sounded in behalf of the Jew in Russia or whether we shall sound it in the interests of any other oppressed race of people.

“Will the Russians in Bessarabia, if they ever heard of us, if they ever heard of New York, will they listen to us? Yes, they assuredly will and they will be made to listen. We have uttered a voice that will be heard in St. Petersburg. We can say to the Czar and to the Ministers there: ‘We will know you are guiltless when the feet of justice are swift. We will know it when all of the guilty are punished by you. When you have punished these men we will know that your sympathies and our sympathies are one, that the sympathies of the Christians in Russia and of the Christians in America are one in all the essentials of Christianity.’ But until then we will say that we are in doubt and will remain so, so long as the guilty go unpunished.”

“*Russia is a Mediæval Barbarism.*”—R. S. MAC-ARTHUR, D.D.

“Those barbarians that call themselves Christians are utterly unworthy of the name. They are a dis-

honor to Christianity and a reproach to humanity. If this massacre is the product of Christianity, then some of us are ready to forsake Christianity. I would rather be a Jewish victim of Kishineff than one of these so-called Christian murderers. Napoleon said: 'Scratch a Russian and you find a Tartar.' We may say truthfully of each Russian engaged in these recent massacres: 'Scratch a Russian and you find a demon.'

"Russia is the mediæval barbarian in modern civilization. Ever since the coronation of Alexander the Great in 1462, the Czar of Russia has posed as God's vice regent. Since that time Russia has claimed the divine right to be the world's master. Russia is now aiming to rule the world. Her deepest thought is that one day the world's mastership will be hers. She wanted Siberia, and she took it. She wanted Central Asia, and she took it. She wanted Manchuria, and she's taking it. She wants India, she wants the universe, and she hopes to get both. But we'll see about it.

"There is no Czar, no Emperor, no King on this earth whose throne is more powerful than the Presidential chair at Washington. The foremost man in the world to-day is the President of the United States, and no diplomatist in the world is more capable of dealing with the delicate and difficult question involved than is the accomplished American Secretary of State, John Hay.

“If Russia is to avoid the contempt of the civilized world she must discover and punish the savage perpetrators of these foul crimes. If our government will inform her emphatically on what conditions she can enjoy the respect, or even the recognition of the American Government, such action by the administration will be indorsed by the American people irrespective of political creeds or religious faith. America is true to herself, and rises above the barbarism of racial hatred. She must grant equal justice to all men, of all creeds and all colors. Then, and then only, shall her voice be resistlessly potent in rebuking the atrocities of Russia.”

“We Should not be Silent Because Russia is a Friendly Power.”—SETH LOW.

“In the name of our religion we grieve that such a stain should have been cast upon it. Russia is a power friendly to the United States, and there are especial reasons why Americans think kindly of her; but not for this cause should we be silent now. Nay, rather, because we desire that the two nations shall continue to be true friends, we beg of her so to deal with those who are to blame for this shameful outrage as to make it impossible for such a thing to happen again within her borders.

“We beg of her to give more liberty to her

Jewish subjects; for we may say properly that in freedom of opportunity, and not in restriction of privilege, for Christian and Jew alike, here in New York has been found a cure for such disturbances as those that in Russia recently have shocked the world. What New York has done for two hundred and fifty years Russia can do—if she will. May God put it into her heart to do it!”

“*Persecution a Method of Barbarism.*”—GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D., BOSTON.

OLD SOUTH PARSONAGE,
Boston, *June 11, 1903.*

Dear Mr. Stiles:

The Russian atrocities committed upon the Jews have filled the civilized world with horror. There is no parallel to it short of the outrages committed upon the Armenians by the Turks several years ago.

I do not see what can be done about it, except to employ against the Russian Government the enlightened public opinion of mankind. I think Jews and Christians alike in this country should unite in a calm, dispassionate but pronounced expression of the inhumanity that Russia has so far taken no serious measures to end.

Persecution of any race on account of racial characteristics is a method of barbarism. Persecution of any kind is revolting to an enlightened mind. Its appearance among any people is a calamity, not only to those who suffer from it but also to those who employ it. I do not know that anything more can be done than simply to bring to bear upon the offending nation the power of an awakened public conscience.

GEORGE A. GORDON.

“*A Standing Disgrace.*” — PRESIDENT HENRY CHURCHILL KING, OBERLIN.

June 11, 1903.

REV. W. C. STILES, NEW YORK, N. Y.

“My Dear Sir: It has always seemed to me one of the standing disgraces of Christian civilization that a people to whom we owe a greater debt even than that owed by us to either Greeks or Romans, should be so treated. The question is no doubt somewhat complicated, but a very large share of the complication arises from simple and unintelligent prejudice.

HENRY CHURCHILL KING.

“Let us Confront Europe and Demand another State of Things.”—GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D.,
MADISON AVE. BAPTIST CHURCH.

June 12, 1903.

My Dear Mr. Stiles:

There has been a massacre; what are we going to do? Maybe there will be another to-morrow for all we know; what are we going to do? Is this not an occasion when we should rise above charity and declare for justice, and should do more than protest against these outrages, but rather take organized action which will confront Europe and demand another state of things?

I have all regard for Theodore Roosevelt, our President, and the men who may be associated with him; but I know something of the limits of diplomacy. I know that if an American Ambassador or other official representing the Government should be sent to inquire of Russia about these late happenings he would be received with all seeming gladness and assured that it was only a little matter after all, which had been grossly exaggerated through the wicked newspapers. Then he would be offered a glass of wine and asked to drink—to the health of the Czar of ‘All the Russias.’ And in five years

we might well again be considering a repetition of that which has just disgraced civilization.

In five years we will be called upon so, unless we take determined action and say that we are done with gold-lace Ambassadorships. The only way is to appoint a committee, and then to form throughout the country an association, to the end that a commission of Jews and Gentiles may be sent to speak, not for our Government, but for the people of the United States.

Such a commission would not reach the Czar? True, but it would reach the press of the world, and would make people everywhere understand that there is on foot a human movement for human deliverance. It would not only give hope to the Jews of Kishineff, but it would show that this sort of thing must stop everywhere, and that if it is necessary to take the Jew out of Russia we will take him out without his being massacred, without his being maimed, and without his women being violated, and will bring him to our shores to learn of real civilization and freedom. Such a commission can be appointed to reach the Czar, directly or indirectly.

I believe that this Jew massacre may sound the

deathknell of tyranny, and if the Russian, who is not hard-hearted by nature—the student class, and the peasant class, and the noble class can be made to feel that he is in the eye of the world, and that it is in our hearts to pity and help him he will come to a different state. Jews, in beginning this movement, will be lifting up the banner of freedom for humanity and for the world.

GEORGE C. LORIMER.

“Oh the Shame and Pity of it.”—ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

NEW HAVEN, CONN., *May* 20, 1903.

MR. W. C. STILES, NEW YORK.

The slaughter of the Jews in Russia should arouse every woman in America to a righteous indignation. There should be a united appeal sent from American women to the Czarina of Russia, begging her to use her royal power to protect the lives and honor of the Hebrew women in her domain. All women's clubs should call special meetings for the purpose of formulating such an appeal. All churches ought to join in this organized movement. It is time that outraged public sentiment cry out in de-

testation of the outrages committed in the name of religion. What a travesty on the religion taught by the gentle Christ, the Jew. He said:

“A new commandment I give unto you—Love one another.

“Be good to those who despitefully use you, love your enemies, render good for evil.”

Yet ever since He passed away those who claim to be His followers have used murder and outrage as their weapons against their enemies, and Christians have warred with Christians, and the earth has run red with blood of women and children, spilled in the “Cause of Christ.”

Oh, the shame and pity of it! That one of the most powerful countries in the world to-day could be the scene of such abominable atrocities as are taking place in Russia, seems almost beyond belief.

If the Czarina is unable to protect and succor the women and babies who are in her dominion, what a travesty upon royal power. Surely it is time kings and queens cast down their foolish gaudy crowns, and cease to strut in ridiculous assumption of royal greatness, if that greatness means only a circus parade, with no real power behind it. We cannot help feeling we are in the darkest ages of

the world's history as we read the dispatches from Russia. We cannot help feeling pity and shame for the Czarina, herself a wife and mother of daughters, who either cannot or will not take under her protection the helpless Hebrew women who are being persecuted, outraged and murdered by her subjects. As the women of America represent liberty and progress, let them unite in an effort to awaken the whole Russian nation to the shameful and ridiculous position which the Czar and Czarina occupy in the eyes of the world to-day.

This is a matter which concerns all humanity. To be silent at such a time is a crime, to sin by silence when we should protest makes cowards out of men. The world has worked out of ignorance and crime step by step by the protest of the advanced few against existing evils. Let the women of America protest against the servile and cowardly position the Czarina of Russia occupies to-day, and demand an explanation in the name of all Woman-kind.

ELLA WHEELER WILCOX.

“*Here the Wandering Jew Finds Rest.*”—GEORGE PERRY MORRIS AND ALBERT E. DUNNING, D.D., OF THE CONGREGATIONALIST, BOSTON.

June 11, 1903.

REV. W. C. STILES.

Dear Mr. Stiles:

To-day this is the promised land of Jewry, and the American Republic is the most formidable competitor of the fantastic scheme of Zionism. Here the Wandering Jew finds rest. To-day New York City has a larger Jewish population than any city in the world. Whatever may be proved as to complicity in high Russian official circles with the recent awful massacre at Kishineff there is abundant testimony of varied sorts that conditions in Russia and elsewhere in southeastern Europe, are such as to bring about a marked increase in the already swelling tide of immigration to this country, of Hebrews who will seek this land for its exemption from virulent anti-Semitism, and for its political liberty and social and economic opportunity.

Arriving here, the Jew from Russia and other lands where the Slav is dominant, also finds that notwithstanding he has much in common with the Jews of Germany, who came earlier, they are in

some ways leagues apart. The Slavic Jew is orthodox. The German Jew is liberal. The Slavic Jew is proud of religion as well as of race. The German Jew retains racial pride longer than religious loyalty. Consequently, New York's Jewry to-day is seething beneath the surface with a factional fight in which the Slav, it should be said, is not without gifted intellectual leadership.

It becomes Christians to know more of the Jew after he arrives among us, to understand better his serious problems of race and religion, to realize that with the sudden transfer from the ostracism and intolerable penalties of Russia to the recognition of his manhood and the soul-freedom of this country there come perils as well as privileges, danger as well as safety. A race no more than a man can be transferred suddenly from one stage of civilization to another without a shock. It braces some; it debilitates others.

Proselyting missions to Jews have not been in high favor with American Christians or American Jews. Open, formal, evangelistic proselyting in most cases will do harm. But indirectly and persistently a pure type of Christianity, simple and fundamental as to doctrine and consistent and joyous

as to life, has its effect upon Jewish neighbors, customers, fellow-students and fellow-countrymen. Joint study of Semitic literature by Jewish and Christian scholars, common labor in social amelioration, common argument in defense of theism and against materialism, and common devotion to a prophetic rather than to a priestly conception of religion ought to bind Jew and Christian together with a bond strong and sure, even though there can be no agreement as yet as to the meaning of the mission of Jesus. And yet it is significant to note that even on this point Jewish rabbis and Christian congregations are publicly comparing notes.

A. E. DUNNING.

“The Massacre a Consequence of Preaching Lies and Violence.”—COUNT LEO TOLSTOI.

“My relation to the Jews and the terrible Kishineff affair must be clear to everybody interested in my beliefs. My relation to the Jews can only be as that to brothers whom I love, not because they are Jews, but because they, and everybody, are the sons of one Father, God. Before knowing all the frightful details, I understood the horror and felt intense pity for the innocent victims of mob savagery, mingled with perplexity at the bestiality of the so-

called Christians, and aversion and disgust for the so-called educated people who instigated the mob and sympathized with its deeds. Above all, I was horrified at the real culprit, namely, the government, with its foolish, fanatical priesthood and gang of foolish officials. The Kishineff crime was a consequence of preaching lies and violence, which the government carries on with such stubborn energy. The government's relation to the affair is new proof of its rude egotism, hesitating at no atrocity when it is a question of crushing movements regarded as dangerous, and is proof of its complete equanimity, which is like that of the Turkish government toward the Armenian massacres and most horrible atrocities, if only its interests remain untouched."

"Russian Responsibility is Complete."—CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., *June 9, 1903.*

The attitude of Christians toward the Jews should be Christlike.

As to the responsibility of Russia for the Kishineff massacre, I think it is complete. We should welcome the refugees to this land, and any Jews who come, unless there is something objectionable other than the fact of their being Jews. They have been persecuted because of ignorance, prejudice and in-

fernal bigotry on the part of their persecutors. This government ought to protest to Russia against its treatment of the Jews.

There you have my opinions on this most important question.

CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY.

“Such Atrocities the Natural Outgrowth of Anti-Semitic Movement.”—HON CARL SCHURZ.

“The main question is not whether the Russian Government may be in any degree responsible for the Kishineff horrors. The point is that such atrocities are the natural outgrowth of the anti-Semitic movement—a movement most barbarous in its injustice and most cowardly and contemptible in its tolerance. There are many persons who openly support and encourage that movement who pretend to superior respectability. Let the Kishineff massacre be held up before their eyes in its true colors, so that they may perceive the true character and the natural fruit of the reckless agitation which they have been countenancing.”

“Kishineff Mob were led by Men of Cultivated Society.”—MAXIM GORKY.

“Russia has been disgraced more and more frequently of recent years by dark deeds, but the most

disgraceful of all is the horrible Jewish massacre at Kishineff, which has awakened our horror, shame, and indignation. People who regard themselves as Christians, who claim to believe in God's mercy and sympathy, these people on the day consecrated to the resurrection of their God from the dead occupy the time in murdering children and aged people, ravishing the women, and martyring the men of the race which gave them Christ.

“Who bears the blame of this base crime, which will remain on us like a bloody blot for ages? We shall be unable to wash this blot from the sad history of our dark country. It would be unjust and too simple to condemn the mob. The latter was merely the hand which was guided by a corrupt conscience, driving it to murder and robbery. For it is well known that the mob at Kishineff was led by men of cultivated society. But cultivated society in Russia is really much worse than the people, who are goaded by their sad life and blinded and enthralled by the artificial darkness created around them.

“The cultivated classes are a crowd of cowardly slaves, without feeling of personal dignity, ready to accept every lie to save their ease and comfort; a weak and lawless element almost without conscience and without shame, in spite of its elegant exterior. Cultivated society is not less guilty of the disgraceful and horrible deeds committed at Kishineff than

the actual murderers and ravishers. Its members' guilt consists in the fact that not merely did they not protect the victims, but that they rejoiced over the murders; it consists chiefly in committing themselves for long years to be corrupted by man-haters and persons who have long enjoyed the disgusting glory of being the lackeys of power and the glorifiers of lies."

"No Official Protest Needed."—ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY.

BROOKLYN, *June 9, 1903.*

W. C. STILES, ESQUIRE.

Dear Sir: The attitude of Christians toward Jews should be the attitude of Christians towards Christians.

This Government should not make any protest to Russia officially. Enough is being made by the people themselves in their meetings, in their pulpits and in their newspapers.

The measure of Russian responsibility for Kishineff is the measure of American responsibility for the lynching of Italians, Hungarians and Chinese in different parts of the country. Our Government neither approved nor condoned nor could punish those crimes. It had to regret them, to disavow

responsibility for them and to pay exemplary damages in consequence of them.

Neither the Russian Jews nor any other foreigners should be welcomed to this land, nor should any foreigners who comply with the requirements of our laws be repelled from this land.

Jews are persecuted because the devil is not dead, because prejudice is his preferred child, because superstition in places withstands education, and because the ferocities of creed conflict and of race hatred still survive in human breasts.

ST. CLAIR MCKELWAY.

"The Jews are our American Relatives."—CORTLAND MYERS, D.D.

BROOKLYN, *June 9, 1903.*

DEAR MR. STILES:

This American Christian civilization ought to be the best protector of the persecuted Jewish people. Its Christianity repeats the holy prayer, "Our Father," and that carries in its breadth the spirit of brotherhood. The Jew and every other man are our American relatives. This American civilization stands for liberty—and liberty for all the world and all people. This cardinal principle thrusts the

American heart up against the Russian Jew and every sufferer from the hand of oppression and tyranny. We have lost our glory when we have lost this vision and our courage.

CORTLAND MYERS.

“*A Chapter from the History of the Dark Ages.*”
—FRANK OLIVER HALL, D.D., NEW YORK.

Dear Mr. Stiles:

The story of the massacre at Kishineff reads like a chapter from the history of the Dark Ages. Nothing more horrible or revolting has occurred in modern times. There is a distinct tendency in our civilization toward reversion to barbarism. The Kishineff horror is a piece of similar events occurring in various parts of the world and of which we read almost daily. The treatment of Cubans by the Spanish; of the inhabitants of the South African Republics by the English; of the Chinese by the invading armies of Christendom; of the Philipinos by the invading army of America; of the negroes by the whites of the South, all go to show not only that “if you scratch a Russian you find a Cossack,” but if you scratch our alleged civilization anywhere you find the savage.

The Jews happen to be the objects of hate and racial antipathy in Russia. They deserve such hatred just as little as the Cuban, the Chinese or the negro. Indeed, they deserve on the part of Christians respect and affection. We owe this persecuted people more than we can ever repay. They gave us our religion and our sacred literature; they gave us our Sabbath and our highest ideals; they gave us our great leader, the captain of our progress. No people has given the world, in proportion to numbers, so many great men in all departments of life. In return we persecute them, despise them, cast them out and occasionally massacre them. We do this because they are weak and defenseless. If they were strong enough to defend themselves we would not dare. We hate them not because they are inferior but because in many respects they are superior. In the game of life they win against all odds. We hate them because they get the prizes of life in spite of our best efforts. We lie about them and slander them. The Kishineff massacre was brought about by a lie circulated by the press and the pulpit. There is just as much reason to suppose that the Jews use Christian blood as a sacrificial emblem as there is to suppose that Chris-

tians use the flesh of a baby in the Lord's Supper. Both of these lies have been circulated and believed and the result has been torture and death in the most horrible forms. It is time that such lies should cease.

The Russian government is responsible for the circulation of these lies against the Jews. It controls the press and the pulpit and permits both to become the medium of slander. The people believe what the press and the priests declare. The result is—the horror of Kishineff. Let the Russian censors take as much pains to suppress lies against the Jews as they take to suppress the truth about liberty and such events would not occur.

As to the United States making a protest to Russia against the treatment of the Jews, how can she do this with grace? American citizens, because they wear a black skin, are murdered without provocation, and sometimes tortured as horribly as any Jew was tortured in Kishineff and with as little reason. The American government does not lift a hand to protect her own citizens within her own borders. Then think what we have been doing in the Philippines. For every Jew tortured and murdered in Kishineff, America has tortured and mur-

dered a hundred people equally as innocent in the Philippine Islands. We are in no position to protest. Such a protest would be a farce, a hideous joke. Let us cast the beam out of our own eye and then shall we see clearly to cast the mote out of our brother's eye.

FRANK OLIVER HALL,

CHURCH OF THE DIVINE PATERNITY, NEW YORK, N. Y.

“No Nation has Surpassed Russia in the Refinement of Cruelty to the Jew.”—H. A. TUPPER, D.D.,
BROOKLYN.

June 15, 1903.

REV. W. C. STILES.

Dear Sir :

The wonderful Hebrew race, having a national mark but no national home, presents, at once, the most pathetic picture and the most pronounced problem in all history. Envy, malice and prejudice have, with all fury, been turned against this people; and during the centuries, since the son of David hung upon Golgotha, the Jew has been crucified before the universe. Both society and government have been ceaseless in their efforts to crush and destroy this unconquerable and indestructible race; and the so-called Church of Christ is not guiltless

in this bitter racial persecution. No nation has surpassed Russia in the refinement of cruelty to the Jew; and this last exhibition of Russian barbarity should call forth the protest of the civilized world.

H. ALLEN TUPPER, JR.

“*Crystallize Christian Public Sentiment.*”—S. PARKES CADMAN, D.D.

REV. W. C. STILES, MANHATTAN.

My Dear Brother Stiles :

My general opinion on the question of the persecution of the Jews is one of utter abhorrence of the cruelty which exists in so-called Christian nations. The causes which have led up to this unfortunate state of affairs are altogether too numerous and far-reaching to be discussed in a brief letter, but it is to be hoped that this melancholy incident at Kishineff will arouse the sentiment of the Christian public wherever found and crystallize it into concerted action that the ancient people of God may be protected. It seems difficult to bring any other than moral influence to bear. Still that means more than is frequently allowed for it.

Yours faithfully,

S. PARKES CADMAN.

BROOKLYN, *June 12, 1903.*

“*America Is Indebted to the Jews.*”—MADISON C. PETERS, D.D., BALTIMORE.

June 13th, 1903.

REV. W. C. STILES, NEW YORK CITY.

My Dear Mr. Stiles :

America stands among the nations to-day as the teacher of truth, the arbiter of right and the advocate of soul liberty and equal rights for all men regardless of race or religion. Further, America is indebted to the Jews. It was not the jewels of Isabella, but the money of two Jews, Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, who supplied the funds needed to fit out the expedition of Columbus for his voyage of discovery. Luis de Torres, a Jew, the interpreter who accompanied Columbus was the first white man who set foot on American soil. The wonderful scientifically well planned voyage of Columbus was made possible through the genius of the Spanish and Portugese Jews. The maps, the astronomical tables, etc., were all the invention of Jews.

The Russian Jews themselves have grown coarse in the struggle for existence, but look at their children in our schools and colleges and you will behold

quiet and cultivated ladies and gentlemen who will become an enormous force for good in the America of to-morrow. The most offensive Jew in America is anxious for his children to have better social and educational advantages than he had, and no people in America to-day are sacrificing so much for the education of their children as the Russian Jews.

Money often gets ahead of the manners of Jews and Gentiles alike. Among all races and religions you find vulgar, loud-mouthed, money-inflated, offensive snobs, who fill you with insufferable disgust. But exclusion carries with it such peril of witnessing on the free soil of America the mediæval savagery which Americans came to overthrow that the un-American weapon of social excommunication should be resorted to only when all other methods have failed.

MADISON C. PETERS.

Russia Entirely Responsible.—J. N. HALLOCK, D.D., Editor of Christian Work.

“Dear Mr. Stiles: The attitude of Christians toward the Jews should be a liberal attitude. I think this Government should make a protest to

Russia against the Kishineff affair. Russia seems to me to be entirely responsible for this outrage. The Jews are persecuted on account of their peculiar doctrines. My belief is that we should welcome the Jewish refugees to this country.

Very truly,

J. N. HALLOCK.

“Christian Nations should now Give Trial to a Policy of Love.”—I. K. FUNK, D.D.

“Dear Mr. Stiles: The persecution of Jews in the name of Christianity plainly shows how completely the religion of Jesus has been misread and perverted. For many centuries we have tried to deal with Jews in terms of force, and to convert them to Christianity by a course that violates the first and greatest principle of the Gospel. It is time that we tried some more humane and Christian method, or let them alone. One of the fundamental ideas of Christianity is the love of man for his neighbor. Resist not evil, love for hate, ‘do unto others,’ are of the essentials of the religion of Jesus. Such horrors as that of Kishineff make the name of Christian civilization a lie. The force policy with

Jews has signally failed, as from the first it was certain to fail. Christian men and Christian nations should now give trial to a policy of love. Whatever else it would accomplish, it would make such an affair as that which has occurred in Kishineff altogether impossible.

I. K. FUNK.

“Religious Prejudice Amply to Blame.”—M. J. SAVAGE, D.D., NEW YORK.

June 12, 1903.

MR. W. C. STILES, NEW YORK.

My dear Sir :

I have known a great many Jews in my life; some of the noblest, sweetest, simplest; most unselfish, most patriotic, most philanthropic, tender-hearted people I have known were Jews. We are very apt, if we have one unfortunate experience with a Jew, to attribute the same characteristic to the entire people. I do not believe there are any more dishonest men among the Jews than there are among any other race in the world.

There is a characteristic of the Jews which has been the chief cause, probably, of international

hatreds, and that is nothing less than an insult to intelligence and a disgrace to civilization—that is the religious hatred. We Christians are nine-tenths Jews, both in our morals and our religion, and almost the only thing that distinguishes between the Jew and the Christian is the fact that the Christian has turned a Jew into a God, and hates his own people who still insist that He was a magnificent man, the crowning name among the Jewish prophets, but still a man.

Suppose that the Jews did put Jesus to death nearly two thousand years ago. Christians since that day, professedly in the name of the Jew of whom they have made a God, have put to death hundreds of thousands of men by tortures unspeakably worse than any that were suffered that Friday afternoon outside the city on the cross. Christendom has held the Jewish race responsible for the crucifixion of Jesus for nearly two thousand years. Suppose a clique, a group of men, did put Jesus to death; are the Jews to-day in Russia, the Jews to-day in Germany, the Jews in New York responsible? This is visiting the sins of the fathers upon the children with a vengeance. And yet probably this religious prejudice, this religious hatred has had

more to do with the way the Jews have been treated than any other one cause.

The Jews are money-lenders everywhere.

The characteristics of the Jew in this matter come out here in New York. Jacob Riis tells us in one of his books that down on the East Side the Jew is sure to save money, no matter how little he is paid; he will starve himself, he will go without clothes, he will do anything, but he will have something. And by and by he owns the house he lives in, and the other people who haven't saved anything have to pay rent, and they hate the Jew who is thrifty and who has flourished.

To give another illustration. I shall cut across our reverence for Shakespeare, perhaps, in this one. I have been accustomed to say for years, that in spite of his faults, if you leave out some of the lovely, beautiful, minor characters, the most decent character in the "Merchant of Venice" is Shylock. He is put upon and abused in every conceivable way and, after the fashion in English literature, is held up to ridicule. Portia's legal lore is clap-trap and quibble. In spite of his faults the grandest wholly human character in the play is Shylock. And to show the drift of public opinion, the audience is ex-

pected to rejoice over the misfortunes of the tender, lovely, sweet Jessica, merely because she is the daughter of a Jew. Oh, I am ashamed of the human race when I face questions and problems like these.

Sincerely yours,

M. J. SAVAGE.

“*Has Passed the Enduring Point.*”—PROFESSOR RICHARD GOTTHEIL. (Advance sheets of the “Forum” for July 1903).

“The plain fact is this, that life for the Jew in Russia, as well as for the Jew in Roumania, has passed beyond the enduring point. What country will open its door for these refugees of the world’s hatred? If there is none, what will the Jews the world over do to provide a home for the oppressed of their people? The solution must come in one of these two ways. Has Israel preserved sufficient manliness and sufficient spiritual power to decide, and, having decided, to take a bold step forward? I still have faith in my people. Tried in the fire of misfortune, with their faith in God and in their own future deepened, they must find their way out of the wilderness into the land of a brighter promise. ‘Then shall Judah be saved and Israel dwell in safety.’”

“The Trouble is in the Russian Official Attitude.”—
JACOB GOULD SCHURMAN. (Cornell University).

“And who were the unhappy victims? The Jews of Kishineff. What offense had they committed? None. What provocation, then, had they given? None whatever. This is passing strange. Here is a piece of diabolical work which outvies the savagery of Dakotahs or Apaches, and it was wrought in Russia—civilized and Christian Russia! And is there no—I will not say justification—but no excuse, no mitigating circumstance? The historian must declare that it was an unprovoked assault and butchery of inoffensive and unprotected Jews by the Christian mob of Kishineff.

“O, Christ! What crimes have been committed in Thy name against the race which gave Thee to the world! Thy gospel of peace and good will to man has brought the Jews at the hands of thy unworthy followers too often only hatred, pillage and massacre. It was no accident that these Kishineff horrors fell at the Easter season. That blessed occasion was used only to accentuate religious differences, to foster outrageous misrepresentations regarding the religious rites of the Jews, and to intensify the spirit of bigotry, superstition and intolerance, which easily produce, not only hatred, but strife and murder. Thus religion, or rather the perversion of religion, undoubtedly played its part in bringing about the massacre at Kishineff.

“But difference of religion had always existed. And in Kishineff Jews and Christians had long dwelt together in peace, most of the Jews, indeed, being natives of the soil. But of recent years anti-Semitic agitation, which, unhappily, has spread over much of Europe, reached Kishineff also. An anti-Semitic newspaper was established in the city and, while the censor authorized this, he disallowed any other journal which might refute its libellous misrepresentations or antagonize its policies. The burden of this paper was that the Jews must be got rid of. And when the mob finally followed the thinly-veiled editorial advice of sack and murder they were, from the moral point of view, not more blameworthy than the editor. And the Russian administration which officially authorized and conferred a monopoly upon this anti-Semitic journal will find difficulty in exculpating itself from responsibility for the terrible, but natural and indeed inevitable results of its teachings.

“The trouble is in the Russian official attitude toward the Jew. He is not treated as a fellow man; he is denied the rights of a citizen. Official Russia giving the tone, individual Russians—undoubtedly of the baser sort—carry it to the extreme of insult, cruelty, pillage and murder. Would Russia protect the Jew? Then emancipate him from galling restrictions and unjust disabilities and enfranchise him as he is enfranchised in the United States. I see no

adequate and permanent security for the Russian Jew except the opportunity, now denied him, of being a man and a citizen.”

“*Russian’s Policy Fiendish.*”—DR. CYRUS ADLER.
(Smithsonian Institution.)

“ A diagnosis of the case not entirely flattering to Russian pride may be something like this. Russia is a country of magnificent proportions, inhabited by a semi-civilized and partially barbarous population, whose ruling and upper classes have been covered with a veneer of French civilization. It is largely influenced by a bigoted, mediæval Church, which would tolerate no dissent if it were powerful enough to carry out this intention. It has in turn taken measures against the Roman Catholics in Poland, against the Stundists, against the Mohammedans, and is particularly willing to destroy the Jews, since they have no government to intervene in their behalf.

“ By participating in the partition of Poland and by obtaining a slice of Roumania, it secured so large a Jewish population that it was evident these people could not be destroyed by rioters, converted to the Russian Church or driven to other countries. Russia therefore followed a policy so fiendish and cruel in its cunning as to be worthy of the genuine savage—that of herding a vast population in a restricted area,

cutting them off from all honorable occupation, forcing them, if possible, into physical, mental, and moral degradation, and thus finally hoping to justify whatever action they might see fit to take against this unfortunate people.

“Had the Russian Ambassador been a member of what some modern statesmen are pleased to call the school of the ‘new diplomacy,’ something like this would have been the statement which he would have given to the American public. But the representative of a nation which connives at kidnapping and assassination as a method of government may be still fairly expected to belong to the more ancient school of diplomacy whose representatives ‘lie abroad for the benefit of their countries.’”

The authentic reports of the massacre entirely bear out the description found in the opening chapter of this book. By the courteous permission of the *New York American* I am permitted to include here a part of the report of Michael Davitt, who was sent by the *American and Journal* to the scene of the massacre under instruction to report the exact facts.

“A petition signed on behalf of one hundred and twenty-two families was presented me for forwarding to the *American and Journal*, praying for help

to emigrate. No explanation by my dragoman could disabuse the minds of these poor people of the forlorn hope that an escape from the dreaded recurrence of the horrors of April might not lie in such a petition.

“The hideous reality of the actual outrages committed during the inferno of murder and violation surpasses in the naked horror of their details almost anything the imagination could invent. I hate to return to a reference to these deeds because it is such a horrible and repugnant task, but I am convinced that good will come from tending to keep alive the sympathy of the American people in the future of the victims who escaped with life, but with broken hearts and a dismal future.

“Meyer Weissmann kept a tiny store in one of the poorest of the Jewish quarters. He had lost an eye accidentally when a youth. The mob attacked and destroyed Weissmann’s little grocery on Easter Sunday. He offered them all his money to spare his life. It was a pitiful sixty roubles, but the leader of the mob took the money and said, ‘Now we want your other eye; you will never again see a Christian child.’

“He implored them to kill him instead of blinding him, but they gouged out his remaining eye with a stick.

“Amid his sobs and suffering Weissmann told me his story, lying in the Jewish Hospital.

“Near the bed of poor Weissmann lay Joseph Shainovitch, who was almost bludgeoned to death. He told me that the same gang killed his mother-in-law by driving nails through her eyes into her brain. This story I refused to believe, thinking it born of the nightmare of Shainovitch’s terrible experience, but from six other sources, one being a Christian doctor, I learned that Shainovitch’s story was true. Among the witnesses were the men who dug the victim’s grave.

“In the female ward of the hospital I found upwards of a dozen girls and married women whose injuries were too severe to permit their discharge. I heard their stories, at least those parts tellable to me.

“One girl of seventeen, a perfect type of Jewish beauty, had been for two hours in the hands of a dozen men who killed her father and mother, and who left her for dead.

“On the next cot lay the mother of four children. She had not fully recovered consciousness. She, too, had been the victim of twenty men, after being nearly beaten to death.

“At the rabbi’s house I met several more victims of the mob’s nameless infamies. One pretty girl of sixteen said her assailants were Russians, chiefly seminarists. She, Simmie Ztytchik, by name, was one of the twenty women who sought refuge in the loft of the house, No. 11 Nivlairskai Street, where

the mob discovered them and other groups of women hiding in like places.

“I have the names of ten women and girls I met at the rabbi’s house who told me their awful experience at the hands of the mob. Their experiences are too dreadful to print. Six other young girls were ashamed to come to the rabbi’s house to meet me and tell their awful experiences.

“The full number of women subjected to these most awful wrongs will never be known.

“During the continuance of the reign of terror, housebreaking and robberies were suspended apparently by consent during the night while the fiends sought the hiding places of the women to satiate their brutalities. The women who can do so, naturally hide their wrongs, preferring to suffer in silence. The actual number of these victims of the mob’s basest crimes therefore can never be known.

“A thousand determined men, despite the action of the Chief of Police, could have saved many lives and prevented the outrages against the women and children. Leon Koulberry, a plucky Jew fireman, faced sixty Moldavians, and with a few assistants drove them out of his district. Many Russians of both sexes nobly exerted themselves to protect the women from the mob. Several officers of artillery off duty did likewise, but from no quarter of the city did I learn of any attempt being made by Russian or Moldavian clergymen to perform a

similar Christian duty. Instances of incredible baseness on the part of the Moldavians were given me by various witnesses. These Moldavians lured the fugitives to supposed places of safety and then killed them."

The skepticism with which the American press has received the explanations of Russia, is very well represented in the following editorial from the *Philadelphia Ledger*, selected from many similar utterances.

"The latest official statement on the part of the Russian Government, as to the origin of and responsibility for the outrages on the Jewish population of Kishineff, makes the most of a very bad cause. The Russian Director of Police represents the murder of a few hundred Jews, the mutilation of many more and the destruction of a vast amount of property as a race riot, in the course of which the victims brought down upon themselves the violence, by far the most dreadful, of the second day, by assembling to intimidate and punish their abusers of the day before.

"M. Lopoukhine refers the failure of the authorities to interfere chiefly to the error of the governor in calling on the military, instead of directing

the police to stop the bloody work. And yet he alleges, as evidence of the Government's freedom from complicity, the fact that the Minister of the Interior had by this time ordered the proclamation of martial law. The Director of Police calls attention to the fact that the Governor, the Chief of Police and some other officials have been dismissed, and many of the 'rioters' arrested. The pith of his account of the matter is its reference to the anti-Semitic popular passion, which he compares with that of 'the Americans who lynch negroes.'

"Russian official statements are appreciated nowadays in this country at pretty much their real value. It was only the other day that the Czar's highest officers disclaimed, with indignation, any intention of permanently occupying Manchuria. Yesterday the news columns showed side by side a Peking dispatch narrating with what thoroughness Russia is fastening her hold on Manchuria in utter disregard of her long series of denials, disclaimers and protests, and this protest by M. Lopoukhine against another article of general belief, resting on the whole trend of unprejudiced news statements.

"As to Kishineff, the *ex parte* statement of an official will not do much to break the force of the agreeing testimony of many hundreds of eye witnesses, given by refugees arriving on our shores, or by letters to kinspeople here, and of the accounts

sent by press correspondents on the ground. The world is persuaded that the Russian Government is—or at least was, until the indignation of humanity spoke—guilty of criminal indifference to the fate of the race against which the brutality of the Kishineff assassins was permitted to rage for three days unrestrained.”

“*Russia Should be Judged by Mediæval Standards.*”—N. Y. TIMES.

“The simple fact is that the Russian government, like the Russian people, must be judged by the standard of civilization attained in the Middle Ages, and pretty early in those ages, if they are to be excused for their attitude or their action in this matter. Both the Government and the mass of the people seem to be actuated by the feelings that were common in Europe from the eleventh to the fourteenth century. They are apparently utterly ignorant of the effect that reasonable liberty and chance for development would have on what may be objectionable in the character or customs of the Jews. Hatred and covetousness seem the chief sentiments entertained toward the unfortunates. Every official utterance relating to the recent horrible massacre is instinct with these feelings. And then the upper class among the Russians are indignant that their

country is regarded as uncivilized! Personally many members of this class are agreeable and polished. The class as a class does not need to be scratched deeply to reveal the Cossack to whom Napoleon referred."

"Sympathy of Russia's Governing Powers was with the Rioters."—BOSTON ADVERTISER.

"To anybody who understands the close relations between church and state in Russia, it is plain enough that the sympathies of the governing powers in Bessarabia were with the rioters. The government of that province is directly under the orders of St. Petersburg, and to that extent, at least, the Russian government is responsible for the Kishineff massacre. The Czar has power to punish, and that power must be exerted to the full before the freedom of the St. Petersburg government from complicity in this massacre can be taken as proved."

"Let This Government Speak."—N. Y. EVENING JOURNAL.

"A duty has been imposed upon the United States Government by the Kishineff massacre which cannot be evaded without dishonor. Enough is known, enough has been officially acknowledged in Russia, to justify a strong and prompt protest to the Czar.

This Republic has a right to speak in behalf of outraged humanity and to speak as the representative of civilization. Were it needful to sweep aside the conventions of diplomacy in order to make this protest, then they could not be swept aside in a better cause. It is the privilege of a nation so great and powerful as ours to make precedents when occasion for breaking new ground occurs. But there is no necessity for transgressing international usage. Secretary of State Hay has supplied himself with a precedent by his letter of last year to the Powers in the case of Roumania. In that letter he said:

“The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in nowise impairs its just liberty and right to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of their effect upon this country, and to judge accordingly. . . . These helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This Government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity.’

“Every word of that letter was true as to Roumania, and every word of it is no less true when applied to Russia.

“If our Government had the right to protest against persecution of the Jews in Roumania—and who doubts that it had?—it has an equal right to protest against the persecution of the Jews in Russia.

“Let our Government do its duty and speak.

“Behind its voice there will be a united American people, among whom there is, and can be, but one feeling in the face of such horrors as those of Kishineff.”

“*Exile Decreed by Massacre.*”—PHILADELPHIA PRESS.

“Against immigration quickened and detached by massacre this country has a right to protest. Its doors are open. It closes them to none. Its sympathies and its welcome embrace all victims of oppression and all sufferers from violence and wrong.

“But it has a right to demand, as Secretary John Hay pointed out in his memorable despatch on the persecution of the Roumanian Jews, that every country shall maintain an order and give a protection to its own citizens which shall prevent them from being driven forth in herds and hordes to derange the industries and destroy the labor balance of other lands. Any man in the Russian Empire is welcome to this country as an immigrant, from the Czar down, provided he meets the requirements of our immigrant laws; but the Russian Government

has no right to administer its laws or to fail in protection to its subjects so as to force immigration on great masses of its inhabitants. Such emigration is the product of no economic selection. It stands for no personal desire or decision. It is not emigration. It is exile, decreed by massacre."

Russia Cannot Escape Moral Responsibility."—
PHILADELPHIA TELEGRAPH.

"The Russian Government disclaims, as it always has disclaimed, any responsibility for these eruptions of fanatic hostility, spurred on by robbers and outlaws; but it is none the less a patent fact that Government officials have, in previous instances where these horrors have been visited on innocent members of Russian communities, either shown indifferent apathy or active sympathy with the rioters. The Russian Government may evade financial and material accountability in the premises, but the moral responsibility which permits repeated attacks on a persecuted people is a charge that cannot be evaded."

The Shame of the Russian Government."—N. Y.
MAIL AND EXPRESS.

"It did not need the traditional 'whiff of grape-shot' to end the Kishineff massacres. A few volleys

of musketry were fired into the air and the riot was over. The shame of the Russian Government is that they were not fired until the rioting had gone on for days. It let a situation which, as the event showed, was easily within its grasp stew through a saturnalia of bloodshed and outrage, its own soldiers, if report speaks truly, joining in the looting and massacre.

“Russia is an Oriental as well as an Occidental power, and by the logic and reaction of its expansion it is becoming more an Oriental and less an Occidental power. There is a suggestion of the Great Khan and the Golden Horde in the Kishineff affair. The State whose soldiers drove thousands of Chinese to their death in the Amur, whose governor-generals are crushing out Finnish liberties and whose officials have allowed its Jewish subjects to be butchered in Bessarabia, is depriving itself of the moral justification for appearing in the international court as the advocate of oppressed Christianity in Macedonia, Armenia or elsewhere in the domain of the Turk, or as the redresser of another ‘Bulgarian massacre.’”

“*The Stain is on the Hands of the Czar Himself.*”—N. Y. COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

“The hideous crimes in Bessarabia cry out to Heaven for retribution; yet the guilt of them does

not lie in all its awfulness against the embruted wretches who worked their will upon the helpless Jews. These creatures are almost as irresponsible as animals. The accusing finger of the world's condemnation will point not at them, but at the provincial governor who kept his soldiers in their barracks while blood was running in the gutters and who permitted the police to mingle with the mob, to encourage them by silence, and even to share in their work of outrage and of horror. It will point at the ministers of State who let these deeds go on unchecked when a single word, flashed over the wires from St. Petersburg, would have set the bayonets in motion and hedged about the intended victims with a barrier of steel. It will point at the Czar himself, who so lately won the world's applause by the mild and generous utterances of his ukase, but who has now stirred neither hand nor foot, nor uttered a command to save the innocent and crush their persecutors. It will be in vain for eulogists of Nicholas hereafter to tell the world that he is by nature merciful and kindly, that he is imbued with the spirit of true religion, that he would not willingly do any one a wrong, and that at heart he is the ideal shepherd of his people. These are mere words which are pale and meaningless in the presence of terrific fact. Say what they may for him hereafter, there is blood upon his hands of which the accusing stain can never be removed."

"The Word of a Czar."—N. Y. WORLD.

"Two months ago Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, issued a statement or programme of intentions which breathed the spirit of humanity and progress.

"He promised religious toleration; and the press of the world is to-day ringing with the story of outrages as horrible as those of the dark ages, committed at the bidding of intolerance.

"He promised to extend local self-government; and in Finland the last vestige of people's rule has been swept away, in Bessarabia local governors with absolute power have set their troops to protect pillage and mingle with murderers.

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